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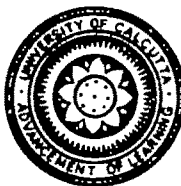
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THE THEORY OF THE CIRCULATION OF BLOOD AS KNOWN TO THE EARLY INDIAN PHYSICIANS.

— *Sukumar Sen Gupta*

The theory of blood-circulation is indelibly associated with the name of William Harvey (1578-1657), who is regarded in the medical world as the first discoverer of the blood-circulatory system which is mainly concerned with the functions of the heart and the blood-vessels through which the blood circulates. The heart, which acts as a pump, provides most of the pressure needed to drive the blood in all parts of the body and back to the heart. The heart, the blood and the tubelike vessels (through which the blood flows), together, are known as the circulatory system. Thus the heart and the blood-vessels form a completely closed and continuous system through which the blood flows. The blood pumped out from the left ventricle is carried by the aorta and its branches to all portions of the body and this circulatory system is known as the Greater circulation (passing through the tissues) or Systemic Circulation. The course of the blood from the right ventricle of the heart to the lungs and back to the left atrium during which carbon dioxide is excreted and the oxygenated blood is carried by four pulmonary veins (two from each lung), is spoken as Pulmonary Circulation (Lesser Circulation – passing through the lungs). The heart serves as a two cylinder pump situated between these two systems. In all these systems of circulation venous blood passes from all the tissues to the heart by the most direct route. But when the blood moves from the abdominal part of the digestive system and the spleen via the liver and the inferior vena cava to the heart, this movement is spoken of as the Portal Circulation.¹

William Harvey was one of the most reputed physicians in England who discovered the circulation of the blood and the role of the heart in propelling it, thus laying the foundation of some basic physiological truths to be regarded as the most valuable contributions to modern medical science. This distinguished English physician showed that "the blood is forced into the ventricles when the auricles contract, the blood in the right ventricle flows to the lungs, and the pulmonary veins carry it to the left auricle, and then to the left ventricle, which sends it into the arteries, later smaller veins carry it to the venas cavae, which bring it back to the right side of the heart, completing the circular course of the blood".² Harvey lectured on the theory of circulation of the blood before the students of the Royal College of Physicians in 1616. He expounded those original and complete views on the subject in the form of a book and published it in 1628. But although his work

subjected him to severe criticism by some of his contemporaries; ultimately this was more than compensated for by wide-spread recognition.³

Although his ingenious genius in the field of medicine has been recognised and appreciated all over the medical world, modern research and studies in the Arabic and Indian medical works of the past have brought to light the fact that the medical writers of Arabia and India were fully conversant with the theory of blood-circulation long before the discovery of William Harvey.

Knowledge of blood-circulation in Arabia

Regarding some of the contributions of the Arabic medical writers to the science of Medicine it may be stated that "Ali Husayan al-jilani in his commentary on the Canon has observed that blood was always in circulation". Furthermore, according to the statement of an Egyptian physician (Taufiq Susa), Ibnu'n Nafis, an Arab physician of the thirteenth Century (1210-1288), in his commentary on the anatomy of Avicenna, "described the lesser or pulmonary circulation almost correctly, nearly three centuries before its discovery by William Harvey". Dr. J. Blatham of the University of Manchesteor also wrote in connection with the tercentenary of the death of William Harvey, that Ibnu'n-Nafis, an Arab physician, "had discovered the essential principle of the pulmonary circulation, which he described more or less accurately, almost three centuries before any European". In this context he also remarked,— "It should not be assumed too readily that great discoveries in medicine were made only in Europe".⁴

Circulation of blood in early Indian Literature

(a) Āyurveda Literature

Let us now turn to the ancient medical literature which contain ample date of kindred points of physiological interest bearing on this subject. But before proceeding further we should recall in this context the views held by the eminent scholars, proficient in the science of Medicine regarding the acquaintance of the Āyurvedic physicians with the theory of the circulation of the blood. Dr. Julius Jolly⁵ raises the point whether the Indian medical writers knew the theory of blood-circulation and he says, "the inference from certain expressions particularly in the Bhāvaprakasa that blood-circulation was known to Indians already before Harvey (1619 A. D.) seems very doubtful". Again he comments "Hoernle (Su. p 89) considers the substitution of the variant anudhāvato "running through" for older "anusarato" going through (Su. 1. 14.1) as a result of the knowledge of blood-circulation in India. However, it can not be said that Indian authors meant thereby the recurrent movement of blood".⁵ Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Gananatha Sen⁶ expresses

his opinion that the Caraka and Suśruta Saṃhitās definitely refer to the fact that the blood flowing from the heart through the dhamanis" circulates throughout the body and returns to the heart and moreover the flow of blood of the foetus returns to mother's heart and thence it moves again to the heart of the child in the embryonic stage.⁶ Vaidya Haripannaji⁷ also attributes the conception of the theory of blood-circulation to Suśruta. Kaviraja Dhirendra Nath Ray (Professor Shyamadas Vaidya Shastra Pitha) also holds the view that the ancient physicians like Caraka and Suśruta had some definite idea about blood circulation.

We now return to the medical compendiums of Caraka and Suśruta and find out some materials relating to the circulatory and digestive systems of human beings shedding light on the conception of the circulation of blood of the ancient medical writers.⁸

Human body is sustained and nourished by Vāyu, Pitta, Kapha and Rakta (blood) conveyed through innumerable channels in every part of the body.

According to Caraka the terms dhamanis, śīrās and Srotas are all ducts in the body; different names are applied to them on account of their different functions "These ducts are called dhamanis, because they are filled with chyle from outside; they are called Srotas, because the chyle, etc. which nourish the body, are secreted out of these; and they are called śīrā because they go to the different parts of the body" (Caraka I. 30.11).

According to Caraka Śīrās, srotas and dhamanis are the same, but Suśruta positively denies this opinion saying that these three types of body-channels are different in appearance, number and functions. "The principal śīrās are forty in number, the principal dhamanis twenty-four and the principal srotas twenty-two. The Śīrās permit us to contract or expand our limbs or perform other motor functions, and they serve also to fulfil other functions of moving rapidly. Vāyu, pitta, Śleṣman and blood—any one of these may flow through any and every Śīrā. They start from the navel. Of the principal Śīrās (forty in number) ten are for the circulation of vāta, ten for pitta, ten for Kapha and ten for rakta (blood). The total number of the Śīrās are seven hundred". (Suśruta-Saṃhitā III. 7.8-17). Like the dhamanis, the Śīrās "have the naval for their root and they spread from there upwards, downwards and horizontally" (Suśruta, Sar. VII-1). It may be pointed out in this connection that from the name of a chapter of the Suśruta Saṃhitā (Sar, VIII) entitled śīrā vyadha Vidhi (the technique of the cutting of the Śīrās) devoted to blood-letting, it seems that the word śīrās was employed to denote in the narrower sense those vessels whose modern equivalents are "veins. The word 'dhamani' which is first met with in the Atharva-veda, seems to convey the meaning of 'blood-vessels'. Das Gupta thinks that "it is reasonable to suppose, in accordance with the suggestions found in the Atharva-veda, that, though the dhamanis and Śīrās were regarded by Caraka as having the same functions, the former were larger than the latter". The main dhamanis are 24 in number

and are born at the navel from where they spread, ten upwards, ten downwards and four crosswise (tiryag-gāh). Those which go to the upper part of the body, branch out, are divided into three classes, and are thirty in number. Among them, ten carry two by two, vāta, pitta, kapha, Śonita and rasa; there are eight for carrying sabda, rūpa, rosa and gandha, two for each; By two one talks, by two is uttered the loud cry, two are employed for sleep and two for awakening; and two carry tears; two which are located in the bosom carry the mother's milk and it is these two which carry the semen in men. All of these jointly sustain and maintain the limbs and organs situated above the navel. (Susr. Śar., IX - 3).

The text also details the functions of the downward and horizontal 'dhamanis' which carry in the body the entire matter of flow and circulation.

The dhamanis which branch out downwards are thirty in number. They eject vāta, urine, excreta, semen, menstrual blood, etc. The food Rasa is produced out of complete digestion of food in the Pittāsaya and this is separated by Agni. The dhamanis connected with the pittāsaya carry the food-juice (rasa) as soon as it is digested by the action of heat, to different parts of the lower extremity and send it to the dhamanis going upwards and lateralwards and through them to the heart, which is designated as the seat of rasa-dhātu. Further, it may be pointed out that ten going downwards vāta, pitta, śonita, kapha, urine and faeces, sperm and ovum. Four running crosswise with innumerable branches in the whole body, throw out perspiration and nourish the body with rasa. It is again these which carry the pleasurable and painful sense-impressions of touch. (Suśruta III. IX).

Srotas are another kind of body-channels which perform different functions of the body. These ducts, other than Śira and dhamani, start from the cavity of the heart and spread out through the body. (Suśruta, Sarera, IX, 13).

These srotas carry the currents of prāṇa, food-juice, water, blood, flesh, fat, urine excreta, semen and menstrual flow. Caraka when describing the Srotas says that "as the Vāyu, Pitta and Kapha have to circulate throughout the body, all the Srotas are so many paths for them to travel" (Car. saṃ. III 5.6.).

There is yet another set of channels in the body. These are the Nāḍis. Nāḍi seems to have been the general name of channels. A reference is found to a "first aid to delivery in expanding the sides of the vagina and pressing the two "gavīnika" nāḍis (Atharva-veda. I. II. 5). The upaniṣadic thinkers have also referred to these Nāḍis, but none of the passages in different upaniṣads tells us anything definite about the nāḍis. DasGupta, therefore, says "All that can be understood from these passages is that they are some kind of ducts, through which blood and other secretions flow, and many of these are extremely fine, being about the thousandth part of a hair in breadth".

Life depends upon food, which is regarded by Suśruta as the root of our strength and vitality (S. S. I. I. 28). The spermatozoon and the ovum, which by their union produce a living being, are themselves produced ultimately from food. So it is the food which may be called the cause of production and preservation of life. But unless the food is properly digested, it can not nourish the body, because undigested food is useless for the purpose of nourishment (C. S. VI. 15 3).

Food is of four kinds – 1) Asita (the main food like rice, bread, etc.), 2) Pīta (liquid food, like water, milk, etc.), 3) Lāḍha (the semi-solid food like curry, etc.) and 4) Khādita (the solid food like fruits, etc.). Now, regarding the place where food is digested, Caraka says that the region between the umbilicus and the nipples is called the Āmāśaya and it is here that the above four kinds of food-stuffs are digested. (C. S. III. 2.23). It may be noted that Caraka's Āmāśaya includes the stomach as well as the duodenum or Grahāṇī; Grahāṇī means an organ situated just above the umbilicus (nābhi), the seat of digestive fire that takes the undigested food and returns it in digested condition. Suśruta's Āmāśaya is the stomach only which is situated just above the Pittāśaya, "it is the receptacle for the four kinds of food and it is at this place that the food is moistened by virtue of the humid qualities of kapha, is broken up into pieces and becomes fit for easy digestion." (S. S. I. 21. 12). Caraka's statement seems to indicate that the digestive process begins in the stomach and when the food goes to the second part of Āmāśaya, i.e. the duodenum of Grahāṇī it gets "Kevalam pakam". Complete digestion. In the last stage of digestion, the digested food begins to be dried up by Agni and is converted into a compact solid mass (C. S. VI. 15. 9). After this, the digested food (after being turned into the essential part Rasa and separated from the waste parts, viz., urine and faeces) goes all over the body through the Dhamanis. The food Rasa goes all over the body through the Dhamanis. The food Rasa goes upwards to the heart. From the heart it flows, through the 24 tubes (dhamanis), 10 going upwards, 10 going downwards and 4 horizontally, feeds day by day the whole body, makes grow, maintains, supports and animates it by an invisible power. Suśruta says, "Rasajam puruṣam vidyāt" (S. S. I. 14. 12) the body is produced from food-rasa.

As regards the growth of the body through the essence of the food-juice, it may be said that the body is composed of certain constituents or basic elements (dhātu) which are seven in number—rasa (chyle), rakta (blood), māṃsa (flesh), medas (fat), asthi (bone), majjā (marrow) and Śukra (sperm). Rasa denotes an organic juice of primordial necessity. "That which is called rasa is the essence produced by the extremely subtle fire of the rightly digested nourishment" (Suśr. Sūtra, XIV-I). "It is found in the heart, and from there it spreads through the 24 dhamanis in the entire organism." "It is aqueous, but on reaching the liver and spleen, it becomes red, and forms

the blood" (Suśr. Sūtra. XIV-I)⁹. In the liver and the spleen (the principal seats of blood) the finest essence of Rasa dhātu is reddened by the Rañjaka pitta and is thereby transformed into blood (C. S. VI. 15. 22 and S. S. I. 14. 5). Thus the blood is the rasa. From blood is produced flesh, and then from flesh is produced fat (medas), from fat the bones (Asthi dhātu), and then from the bones is produced marrow (majja dhātu) and from marrow is generated the semen (Śukra dhātu). (S. S. I. 14.10, also C. S. VI. 15. 14). Thus all the body constituents (dhātus) have their origin in rasa and the living body is dependent upon it from which the body basically originates. It may be further pointed out that a part of the blood of the woman called "menses" comes from the organic juice (rasa) and shows itself from 12 years, but disappears at fifty years (Suśr. Sūtra. XIV-I).

Turning now to the question of the theory of circulation, we should first of all, refer to the fact that "the Rasa, going out of the heart, circulates throughout the body and after nourishing the succeeding Dhātus again returns to the heart. The nourishment of all the dhātus thus goes on continuously in a cycle (Santatyā bhojya-dhātūnām parivṛtistu Cakravat)" – C. S. VI. 15. 33; also A. H. 11. 3. 68). Now, regarding the nature of circulation of the Rasa throughout the body Suśruta gives an analogy "Sa (rasah) sabdārcirjalasā ntaṇavad aṇuṇā viśeṣeṇānudhāvatyevaṃ śarīraṃ kevalam" (S. S. I. 14. 14), i.e., according to Dalhaṇas tīkā the Rasa circulates (anudhāvati Sañcarati – Dalhaṇatīkā) through the entire body, even to the most minute structures literally like the propagation of sound, upwards like the flow of flames of fire and downwards like the motion of water."

It will appear from the above discussion that like the modern physiologists, advocating the theory of blood-circulation, Indian physicians of ancient days had some clear conception of the rasa-circulation. The rasa-dhātu circulates throughout the body and nourishes all other dhātus, its special seat being the heart. The 'rasa' is driven from the heart to all parts of the body and after rendering its beneficial functions, it turns back to the heart. Here, we should also take into account that blood is nothing but the first transformation of the rasa. Thus the idea of the rasa-circulation in Āyurveda bears a close similarity with that of the blood-circulation in modern physiology. Furthermore, we have some positive evidence of information in the Āyurvedic texts regarding the knowledge of blood-circulation acquired by the ancient physicians. We may refer to a few passages as found in the Caraka and Suśruta Saṃhitās which clearly indicate the conception of blood-circulation of the early Indian medical writers. Thus while describing Śīrās carrying blood, Suśruta says "svaḥ śīrāḥ sancaraḍ raktam" (S. S. III. 7. 14), i.e. the blood circulates through the śīrās. Suśruta also mentions as the first function of the blood-carrying śīrās is – "dhātūnām purāṇam," i.e. the replenishment of the other (wasting) 'dhātus'. We have also direct evidence in the Caraka-Saṃhitā of the circulation of Vāyu and blood. Thus, Caraka says in connection with

vata-rakta-” Saukṣāt sarva saratvācca dehaṃ gacchan śīrāyanaiḥ” (C. S. VI. 29. 11), i.e. “the vāyu and the blood, owing to their penetrativeness and fluidity, travel in all directions in the body through the śīras.”

In connection with the topic of foetal development, there are some important chips of information scattered in the Āyurvedic works which are of great interest from the point of view of circulation. Thus, according to these medical authorities (Caraka and Suśruta), “analogous to the development of organs (indriya) in the third or fourth month, the life-sensation occurs in the foetus, it begins to palpitate and to carry longings for all that it experienced in the previous life. This condition is called ‘dvaihrdayya’ (twoheartedness) or ‘dohada’ (= dohaḷa in Pali, signifying an intense desire or longing of a pregnant woman) in relation to two hearts of the mother and the foetus which stand connected with each other through the canal mediating the feeding of the foetus, whereby similar movements and desires occur in both the hearts. Therefore, one should not refuse to the woman the fulfilment of her desires.” Otherwise this may be proved to be detrimental to the proper growth of the foetus and its birth with a healthy condition. On the other hand, by satisfaction of her desires she will beget a strong and long living child. (C. C. IV, 4. 16-19; s. s. III. 3.18; AHr. II, I.52-54). In the eighth month there is a constant exchange of the vital lifeforce (oja-dhātu) between the two hearts of the mother and the foetus. The vital fluid (ojas) is led sometime from the mother to the child, sometimes from the child to the mother through the canals carrying chyle. In the eighth month, the vital element (ojas) still remains unsettled, and so, if a child is born at this time, stands the risk of death or becomes short-lived and the mother's life is also in danger (S.S. III. 3.30).

The foetus grows through the chyle of the mother. Since the conception the feeding and animation of the foetus are maintained by the vessels conducting the chyle (rasa) and pervading the whole body of the mother, when one part of the diet of the woman which is turned into chyle feeds her own body, another part forms the milk in her breasts and a third part feeds the foetus and makes it grow. When the body of the foetus is developed, a vessel is connected to its navel, the placenta (aparā) is connected to the vessel and to it the heart of the mother. Then the essence of the food flows from the heart of the mother to the placenta through the veins, from there to the navel (of the foetus) and then to the internal body of the foetus after being digested by the (digestive) fire of the same and it nourishes the elements and component parts of the foetus” (C. S. IV, 6.23; S. S. III 3.31, III 5.42).

Now we may conclude this topic with the observation made by Prof. Dharendra Nath Roy, Kaviraja, relating to the nourishment of the foetus “Even with regard to the foetal circulation, while the modern physiologists say that the foetus is nourished by the blood of the mother, the Āyurvedists say that the Garbha or foetus is nourished by the food-rasa of the mother”.

It may be pointed out further that "before the birth of the child, when the foetal body is in the womb, it has independent actions of its own."¹⁰

(b) Buddhist Literature

- Pali works of Buddhaghosa.

Before we turn to the works of Buddhaghosa, we should note that in some early texts of the Pali Canon there is a brief enumeration of the different kinds of constituents of the human body which are of 32 types (dvattiṃsākāraṃ). We may quote a passage from the Khuddakapāṭha, which runs, as follows – "Aṭṭhi imaṣmiṃ kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nahāru aṭṭhi aṭṭhimiñjā vakkam hadayaṃ yakanam kilomakam pihakam papphāsam antam antaguṇam udariyam karīsam pittaṃ semham pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo siṅghāṇikā lasikā muttam matthake matthaluṇaṃ-ti." This text refers to an additional item at the end, viz, matthake matthaluṇaṃ (brain in the head), which is not found in the earlier texts. From the above passage it is clear that besides the names of different organs of human body, the list also comprises the names of the organic liquids. But unfortunately there are no precise anatomical descriptions of the different kinds of constituents of the human body. So it becomes difficult to identify a particular organ mentioned in the brief list.

With the progress of time the knowledge of human anatomy developed in the Buddhist circle and the presentation of physical anatomy in the early Pali texts was elaborately elucidated later by the Pali commentator Buddhaghosa, to the best of his knowledge. Buddhaghosa (5th Century A.D.) is a versatile scholiast whose works reveal his knowledge of Vedic literature, grammar, Astronomy, of the fauna and flora of the country, of the ancient tribes and kings and nobles of his motherland, of Buddhism with all its aspects, of ancient manners and customs of the land, and of the history of Ceylon. It is also evident from some of his works that he had a fair knowledge of anatomy. He thoroughly studied the subject of Anatomy from the Āyurvedic literature of diverse schools of medical thought current at that time from which he drew a good deal of his materials regarding this subject.

Buddhaghosa deals with the subject exhaustively in his famous Visuddhimagga which is repeated with slight variations in some of his other texts also.

Before going on to discuss the subject of the Blood-circulation, it is necessary to have an idea of the digestive system (closely allied to the Blood circulatory system) as revealed in Buddhaghosa's description of a few organs "of the human body" like, Antam, Antaguṇam, and Udariyam, referred to in some of the earlier Pali texts. According to Buddhaghosa the organ 'Antam' measures thirty-two hands in length for the male and twenty-eight hands for the female (purisassa dvattiṃsa haṭṭham itthiya aṭṭhaviṣati haṭṭham) and it remains coiled in twenty one places (ekavisiyā ṭhānesu obhaggam). It is like a beheaded snake folded up in a 'trough of blood' (lohitaḍoṇiyam ābhujitvā ṭhapitasāsa-chinnasappa-saṅghānam).

The above description seems to indicate that according to Buddhaghosa, the term 'Antam' was applied to signify the organs known as 'Small Intestine' and Large Intestine in modern Anatomy. The small Intestine is continuous with the stomach at the pyloric sphincter and leads into the large intestine at the ileocolic valve, and is about 21 feet in length. The large intestine (about five feet long) which surrounds it and forms an arch round this coiled up small intestine, terminates at the rectum and the anal canal deep in the pelvis. Buddhaghosa further states that this organ known as 'Anatam' lies within "the physical frame from the bottom of the gullet to the excrement passage" (galavātaka-Karīs-amagga-pariyante sarirabbhantare (hitam), that is to say, it lies within the frame work of the Alimentary Canal (i. e. the principal part of the digestive apparatus extending from the mouth to the anus, including the gullet, stomach, intestines, etc.). As to the next organ "Antaguṇam", we may note that Childers gives its meaning as "mesentery". I. B. Horner also adopts this English equivalent (offered by Childers in his Dictionary) for the term antaguṇam in her Milinda's Questions (Vol. I, p 35). Both the scholars seem to be perfectly justified in using the term mesentery to denote the real sense of the term 'antaguṇa'.

According to Buddhaghosa, it (antaguṇam) serves as a ligament within the enclosure of the coiled intestine (antabhogaṭṭhānesu bandhanam). It remains enclosed with the twenty one intestinal coils fastened together and acts as a garter or tie, restraining the displacement of the intestines, just like the rope of a machine (Yantasuttakam iva) binding the boards together (Yantaphalakā ni ābandhitvā) when it is pulled, or like cords which are sewn together within the stringy spherical mat for wiping out the feet (pādapuñchana rajjumaṇḍalakassa antarā saṃsibbitvā ṭṭitarajjukā viya). This description corresponds well with the modern anatomical term mesentery, which denotes the double layer of peritoneum which encloses the ileum and jejunum attaching them to the posterior abdominal wall and serves to keep the intestines in place.

The next term is 'Udariyaṃ', which literally means anything relating to 'Udara' (stomach). Buddhaghosa refers to four kinds of food, viz, Asita (the main food like rice, bread, etc), Pita (the liquid food), Khādita (the solid food) and sādita (to be tasted) which are mainly concerned with 'Udara' (stomach). The small sentence containing the expressions like, "Udare bhavaṃ asitapī takhāditasāditaṃ" employed by Buddhaghosa in the sense of food is no doubt appropriate in view of the fact that the digestive system deals principally with the food which we eat. But still the precise sense conveyed by the expressions employed by him suffers from vagueness and indefiniteness. Buddhaghosa, however, introduces the word Udara and gives chips of information about the nature and functions of the stomach (udara), so far as the digestive system is concerned.

The stomach (udara) lying in the abdominal cavity is like the swelling ball produced in the middle of an inflated wet cloth squeezed at both ends (udaraṃ nāma ubhato pi nippiḷiyamānassa allasāṭakassa majjhe sañjā-taphoṭakasadisam). The food and drinks of various kinds which fall into the stomach (Yattha ca patitaṃ pānabhojanādi) become divided into five parts, one portion of it is eaten up by the worms, one portion is burnt by the fire of the stomach (ekabhāgam udaraggi jhāpeti), one portion is turned into urine, one portion turns into excreta, and the remaining portion is reduced to food-rasa (juice) which helps the successive nourishment and growth of the blood, flesh, etc. (ekobhāgo rasabhāvaṃ āpajjitvā soniitamamsādīni upabrūhayati).

It may be stated further that without giving a full and connected view of the digestive process, Buddhaghosa supplies scrappy information regarding digestive operation in the abdominal cavity with reference to a few other organs associated with digestion. We may quote a passage from Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga (Vol. I. p. 259)- "So there in the belly the assortment of food and drinks, etc. (nānāpakāra pānabhojanādi), falls being pounded by the pestle of the teeth and rolled by the hand of the tongue (dantamusalasañcuṇṇitam jihvāhattha-parivattitaṃ) and being stuck together with spittle (kheḷa-lālā-palibuddhaṃ), it loses instantly its colour smell, taste, etc. like a weaver's paste, a dog's vomit, and encircled by the bile, phlegm, wind (pittasemhavāta-paliveṭṭitaṃ), it is boiled by the energy of the stomach's fire (udaraggisantāpavegakuṭṭitaṃ), seethes with the families of worms, and sending up foam and bubble, it reaches an absolutely rotten, bad-smelling, loathsome state, which takes away appetite for food, drinks, etc." This passage gives us an idea of the general process of Digestion, which is due to the interaction of udaraggi (abdominal fire, Jaṭharāgni of the Āyurvedic literature), Pitta (bile), Semha (phlegm), and vāta (wind), in the abdominal cavity and shows how the hard portion of the food after digestion is gradually reduced to foul and loathsome excrement.

According to Āyurveda, the Jaṭhara Agni (in Pali Udaraggi) contained in the Pācaka Pitta is the most important one by which various kinds of food are primarily digested (C. S. VI, 15). According to Caraka, the proper digestion of food is effected by the following :- 1) Heat (of the Pācaka Pitta), 2) Vāyu (Samāna Vāyu), (3 & 4) Moisture and viscosity (which belong to Khedaka Kapha), (5) time, and (6) Proper combination of the above-mentioned five. "of these, the heat digests. Vāyu pulls the food down to the stomach and brings the food near the Agni and also inflames the latter. The moisture breaks up the compactness of the food-stuffs. Viscidity softens them. Time is required for completion of the process of digestion. The proper combination of all these five is necessary for the due production of the ultimate fruits of

digestion which by nourishing the different dhātus keep up their normal proportion in the body (Car. Sam. IV. 6.15).

While expounding the term 'Karīsam' (excrement), Buddhaghosa brings in two other organs, viz, (1) Pakkāsaya and (2) Āmāsaya, closely associated with the digestive system, which are not mentioned in the list of thirty-two types of constituents of human body, as found in some of the Pali Canonical texts. According to Buddhaghosa 'Pakkāsaya' lies in the lowest part of the alimentary canal, i.e. the last portion of the large intestine, between the umbilicus and the root of the thorny spinal column (nābhi-piṭṭhikaṇṭaka mulānaṃ antare antā vasāne). Aruṇadatta in his commentary on Vāgbhata also points out that because the fully digested food, i.e. the faeces collects there, it is called pakvādhāra or Pakvāsaya (A. H. I. 12). That the term Pakvāsaya is generally used for the portion of the intestines below the umbilicus, is also evident from the expressions, "Pakvāsayo hyadho nabheḥ" Rāja - nighaṇṭu, Buddhaghosa further says that the shape of the Pakkāsaya is like that of the interior region of a bamboo-tube and measures eight fingers in breadth (ubbedhena aṭṭhaṅgulamatto vaṃsanalkā bbhantarasadiso padeso). In connection with the term 'Pakkāsaya', Buddhaghosa also introduces the term "āmāsaya" and further continues— "As rain-water falling on high ground slips down to low ground and stays there, so food drinks, etc, after falling into the āmāsaya, being cooked and simmered by the digestive fire (undaraggina), till they become as soft as flower in a pulverizer, slip down by the intestinal passage (antabilena ogalitvā), to be crushed and gathered together there (i.e. pakkāsaya) like brown clay crammed into a bamboo". The cooked food thus collects in the pakkāsaya (sannicitaṃ hutvā tiṭṭhati) and forms faeces or dung (karīsam), the colour of which is generally that of the swallowed food (vaṇṇato, yebhuyyena ajjhohatāhāraṇṇaṃ). It may be noted in this connection that Buddhaghosa has already referred to the fact that one portion of the food-stuff is converted to urine which is derived from the drinking water and the moisture of the food taken (pānabhojanādīsū eko bhāgo muttaṃ hoti). We may point out further that Caraka describes Āmāsaya, which is the seat of both pitta and kapha, as being situated between the umbilicus and the nipples (Nābhi-stanāntaraṃ jantorāmasāya iti smṛtaḥ. C. S. III, 2.23). Kaviraj Dhirendra Nath Ray, basing on the interpretation of Cakrapāṇi, is inclined to identify Caraka's āmāsaya with stomach and also the duodenum (the first part of the small intestine next to the stomach), where the digestion of food primarily takes place (C. S. III. 2. 23); but Suśruta's Āmāsaya is the stomach alone.

Next, attention may be drawn to another interesting point as revealed in the short sentence employed by Buddhaghosa in course of his description of the manner in which the swallowed food-stuff (solid and liquid) undergoes changes. We may quote the line from the Visuddhimagga (Vol. I. p259) which

runs as follows-“Yattha ca patitam pānabhojanādi pañcadhā vivekaṃ gacchati..... eko bhāgo rasabhāvam āpajjitvā sonita-maṃsādīni upabruhayati” i.e., where (in the stomach) a portion of the after digestion is reduced to juice (rasa) which nourishes and sustains the blood, flesh, etc. Although Buddhaghosa refers to the basic elements (dhātu) of human body starting from 'rasa' in a very condensed form, still the few expressions used by him in this context are sufficient enough to prove his acquaintance with the medical concept of the theory of Rasa-dhātu and its function in the human body, which goes back to antiquity.

The body is composed of certain constituents, which are seven in number, such as rasa (chyle), rakta (blood), māṃsa (flesh), medas (fat), asthi (bone), majjā (marrow), Śukra (sperm). Assimilated food and drink which we take become minutely dispersed and its essence of primordial necessity is known as Rasa. “That which is called 'rasa' is the essence produced by the extremely subtle fire of the rightly digested nourishment” (āhārasya samyakpariṇatasya yas tejohūtaḥ sārāḥ paramasukṣmaḥ sa rasa ityucyate - S. S. XIV-I). It is found in the heart and from the heart it flows continuously through the twenty four dhamanīs (tubes), 10 going upwards, 10 going downwards and 4 lateral, in the entire organism. “It is aqueous, but on reaching the liver and the spleen, it becomes red (sa khalva āpyo raso yakṛtapliḥānau prāpya rāgaṃ upaiti, S.S. Sūtra, XIV-1, end) and forms the blood. The food-rasa, after being transformed into blood, successively turns into the other basic elements of the body. The rasa (chyle), produced as a result of the digestive process, successively nourishes and helps to produce the next basic element (rakta), and from blood (rakta) is produced flesh (māṃsa), from flesh is produced fat (medas), from fat the bones (asthi), and then from the bones is produced marrow (majjā), and from marrow is generated semen or sperm (Śukra). (S.S.I. 14.10; also C.S. VI. 15.14). Thus it is the same food rasa, coming out of the heart is converted into the successive dhātus, the total time taken for the rasa to be turned into semen being one complete month; for the female instead of semen, the Ārtava (semen of females or menstrual blood) is generated (māsenā rasaḥ śukrī-bhavati, strināṃ cārtavam - S.S.I. 14.14.).

Leaving aside the topic of discussion relating to the digestive system, we turn afresh to an enquiry as to whether the works of Buddhaghosa reveal any fact regarding the blood circulatory system. Let us first of all deal with the description of heart as found in the Visuddhimagga, Paramatthajotikā and other commentarial works of Buddhaghosa.

It is interesting to note that in early Indian literature (medical or non-medical) the heart (hrdaya) is considered as the seat of consciousness. In the Atharva Veda (III. 26.6.) heart is considered as the seat of consciousness. The Taittirīya upaniṣad (I. 6. I) also speaks of the heart as being the space where

'manomaya puruṣa' (i.e. the mind person) resides. Caraka considers the heart to be the only seat of consciousness (hṛdayaṃ Cetanādhiṣṭhānam ekaṃ-C.S. IV. 7.8.). In the Bhela Saṃhitā (C.U. edition, p 149) the citta is regarded as the cause of all activities, feelings, and judgements, and the heart is regarded as its seat. Thus this cardiac theory (the view that heart is the seat of consciousness) had been in vogue since the days of early Vedic literature and the medical compendiums of Caraka and Bhela. The Buddhist writers also adopted this cardiac theory prevalent at that time. But it may be noted that we do not find any positive reference to Hadaya-vatthare (physical basis of mind and mind-consciousness) in the enumeration of Rūpa classification in the early Abhidhamma works. The Dhammasaṅgani omits this rūpa. The Paṭṭhāna also does not definitely assign a specific seat for consciousness, but refers to the basis of consciousness in such an indirect way, as "yaṃ rūpaṃ nissāya manodhātu ca manoviññāṇa-dhātu ca vattanti taṃ rūpaṃ" (that material thing based on which mind element and mind-consciousness element are functioning). But according to the views of later Pali scholiasts like Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa (5th Century A.D.) and Anuruddha (8th Century A.D.), the seat of consciousness is definitely the heart. In the Atthasālinī hadaya-vatthu is explained by Buddhaghosa as cittassa vatthu (basis of consciousness). Similarly Buddhadatta and Anuruddha have adopted this popular cardiac theory in their respective works.¹²

The heart, the main function of which is to maintain a constant circulation of blood throughout the body is described by Buddhaghosa thus. "This is the heart flesh (hadaya-maṃsaṃ), as to colour, it is the colour of the back of a red lotus petal (vaṇṇato rattapadumapattapiṭṭhivaṇṇaṃ). As to shape, it is the shape of a lotus bud with the outer petals removed and turned upside down; it is smooth outside and inside; it is like the interior of a Kosātakī (loofah gourd). In those who possess understanding, it is a little expanded; in those without understanding, it is till only a bud. Inside it there is a hollow, the size of a punnāga (the Alexandrian laurel tree) seed's bed where half a pasaṭa (about 225 grams) measure of blood is kept, with which as their support the mind element (manodhātu) and mind-consciousness element (mano viññāṇa dhātu) occur. As to direction it lies in the upper direction. As to location it is to be found in the middle between two breasts, inside the body (sarīrabbhantare dvinnāṃ ṭhānānaṃ majjhe patiṭṭhitaṃ)."

The following points should be noted in this connection. The comparison of the heart with a lotus is also found in the Atharva Veda (A.V.X 8.4 3; A.V. II. 15). According to the Āyurvedic texts, the heart is the special seat of the Rasadhātu (S.S.I. 14.3) and also the seat of Ojas, the essence of the seven dhātus, by the loss of which the body itself is destroyed (C.S.I. 17.74).

According to Śrīkaṇṭha Datta, the commentator, it is also the site of all the śīrās or blood-vessels of the body. That a portion of the blood flows through the heart is also mentioned by Cakrapāṇi, while dealing with the method of nourishment of the body by the Dhātus (C.S.I. 28.3). We may now turn to Buddhaghosa's description of a few other organs¹³ of the human body which are directly involved in the discussion of circulatory system. The term Vakkam (used in the singular) is used in Pali literature to denote the two kidneys which are the chief excretory organs of the body. According to Buddhaghosa Vakkam consists of pair of lumps of flesh combined in one stalk lying on either side of the heart fastened by a strong big tendon which comes down from the base of the neck and is divided into two parts after going a little way (ekamūlena thokaṃ gantvā dvidhā bhinnena thūlanahārunā vinibaddhaṃ hutvā hadayamaṃsaṃ parikkhipitvā ṭhitam). It resembles "Village boys' play-balls of wound thread" or "twin mango fruits with a single stalk" (gāmadārakāmaṃ Yamaka-kiḷāgolakasaṇṭhānam, ekavaṇṭa-patibaddha-ambaphaladvaya-ṣaṇṭhānam). The Liver (yakana), being red in colour, lies between the two breasts, leaning towards the right side (dvinnaṃ thanānaṃ abbhantare dakkhiṇapassaṃ nissāya ṭhitam). The Spleen (Pihakaṃ) being blue in colour, exists on the left side of the heart, close to the topmost part of the flesh of the stomach (hadayassa vāmapasse udarapaṭaḷassa matthakapassaṃ nissāya ṭhitam). According to Suśruta the liver and the spleen are situated below the heart, to its right and left side respectively (hrdayasyadho vāmataḥ plīhā, dakṣiṇato yakṛt S.S. III. 4.21). Lungs (Papphāsaṃ) which are composed of thirty-two pieces of flesh, lie between the two breasts, covering the heart and the liver, and hanging like a bird's nest inside an old barn (jiṇṇakoṭṭhabbhantare lambamāno sakuṇakulāvako).

We now finally revert to the question of the circulation of blood. Buddhaghosa gives a clear view of the nature of blood and its function in the Visuddhimagga and the Khuddakapāṭha commentary. We may quote in this connection an interesting passage where Buddhaghosa seeks to account for different colours visible in the blood stored up in a hollow inside the heart. The passage runs as follows :— "Inside the heart there is a hollow, the size of a puṇṇāga seed's bed, where half a Paṣaṭa measure of blood is kept, which in a lustful temperament is red (Yam rāgacaritassa rattamaṃ), in a malignant temperament is black (dosacaritassa kāḷakamaṃ), in a deluded temperament is like water that meat has been washed in, in a reflecting temperament is the colour of the juice of Kulattha vetch, in a faithful temperament is like the colour of yellow kaṇṭikāra flower (saddhācaritassa kaṇṭikārapupphavaṇṇamaṃ), in a wise temperament (paññacaritassa) is transparent clear, as unturbid as polished crystal, and seems to shine". This statement of Buddhaghosa regarding the colour-variety of blood bears some scientific interest. It may be compared with the statement of Suśruta and Caraka. According to the statement of

Suśruta normal blood is red like the Coccinelle, not thick, nor faded (Su. I. 14). Caraka cites gold (molten gold), lotus (red variety), lac-dye, red Guñja seed to indicate the colour of pure blood.¹⁴ Gangadhara Kaviraja, the famous Sanskrit Scholar and Āyurvedist of Bengal seems to be justified in holding the opinion “that these different varieties of red are mentioned to indicate that the normal colour of the blood of men of different constitutions may be of different shades of red” (Tikā Jalpa-Kalpataru, published in 1879).

According to Buddhaghosa's account, there are two kinds of blood in the human body, accumulated blood (Sannicita-lohitam) and running blood (Samsaraṇa lohitam), The colour of the former is like that of biled and hickened lacjuice while the colour of the latter is like that of clear juice of lac. The accumulated blood is found in the upper region of the body (uparimāya disāya jātaṃ), while the mobile blood is found in both the regions, upper and lower, of the body (Sannicitalohitaṃ uparimāya disāya jātanti; Samsaranalohitaṃ “dvisu pi” ti). The running blood extends through the whole of the bodily structure (derived from the four great elements), in accordance with the network of arteries (dhamanijātānusāreṇa sabbaṃ upādinnakasarīraṃ pharivā), thitaṃ with the exception of the fleshless portions of hair of the head, hair of the body, nails, teeth and dry hard skin of the body. The accumulated blood after filling up the lower space of the liver (yakanassa heṭṭhā-bhāgaṃ pūretvā), drips the heart, kidneys, and lungs with the extent of a cup full to the brim (ekapattapūraṇamattam hadaya-vakka-papphāsanaṃ upari thokaṃ thokaṃ binduṃ pātentaṃ) and thus it wets the kidney, heart, liver and the lungs. If it does not wet the kidney, heart, etc, people become thirsty (yamhivakka-hadayaādini atemente sattā pipāsita honti).

Now as to the expressions “Sannicitaṃ Lohitaṃ yakanassa heṭṭhābhāgaṃ pūretvā” as found in the above passage, it may be stated that one may not be far wrong in thinking that they are intended to convey the idea of storage of blood in the liver. We may refer in this connection to the Suśruta-Saṃhitā (S.S.I. 21.16: c.f. also C.S. III. 5.12 C.S. VI. 4.8) which describes the Liver and the spleen as being the special seats for blood (śonitasya sthānaṃ yakṛt-plihānu). In modern physiology also the Liver which is situated in the upper part of the abdominal cavity, is recognised as store-house of blood. Although Buddhaghosa omits here the use of the term 'Pihakaṃ (spleen) in this context, modern physiology has established the fact that the spleen acts as reservoir for blood which was discovered by experiments on animals like cat.

Next follow the string of words which run as follows :- “ekapattapūraṇamattam hadaya-vakka-papphāsanaṃ upari thokaṃ thokaṃ binduṃ pātentaṃ vakka-hadaya-yakana-papphāse tementaṃ thitaṃ” (Kh. Com. p 63). In the above sentence Buddhaghosa similarly seeks to indicate that blood is

collected in these respective organs like hadaya (heart), papphāsa (lungs) and vakkā (kidney) drop by drop for its proper functions. Hadaya (heart) and papphāsa (lungs) which lie in the thoracic cavity are closely associated with the blood vascular system. According to the Āyurvedic texts Heart is the special seat of Rasa dhātu, ojas and all the sīras (blood vessels). Cakrapāṇi also mentions that a portion of the blood flows through the heart. Cakrapāṇi's statement clearly denotes that the special seat of the permanent (or Poṣya raktaṃ) blood is the heart. (C.S. I. 28.3). Besides the above description of the accumulated blood (Sannicita lohitaṃ.) Buddhaghosa, in another context, while dealing with the organ heart (hadaya-vatthu) points out that heart contains a hollow, the size of a punnāga seed's bed where half a paṣaṭa measure of blood is kept. Lungs (Papphāsaṃ) play an important role in the Pulmonary system. Blood enters the pulmonary artery, which immediately divides into right and left branches leading to the right and left lungs respectively. These arteries branch and rebranch to form arterioles. The arterioles supply blood to the capillary networks of the lungs. Blood passes alternately through lungs and tissues, doing opposite functions at these two places. The kidneys (vakkam) receive an extraordinary rich supply of blood. The blood pumped by the heart reaches the kidneys by way of a right and left renal artery and leaves by the right and left renal veins.

Before we proceed further, we should note our observation regarding Buddhaghosa's account of the nature of blood as depicted in his Pali works. His classification of two kinds of blood, accumulated and mobile, and their respective descriptions as found in the above passage, seem to be most accurate from the physiological point of view, so far as the Blood vascular system is concerned. But one of the most interesting points about the passage is that it seems to be a direct reference to the theory of Blood Circulation which is not so explicitly stated within a short compass in the Classical medical Literature. Buddhaghosa's statement and his view about the two kinds of blood seem to be almost unique in the field of early Indian Literature.

We have seen earlier that by the terms Sannicita lohitaṃ., Buddhaghosa denotes 'Blood' that is stored up in organs like Hadaya, Yakana and also vakkam. and Papphāsaṃ where blood is collected temporarily through its circulation.

Now we shall pursue an enquiry concerning the significance of the words 'Samsaraṇa Lohitaṃ', which, we think, refer directly to mobile blood or the blood that circulates throughout the body. Buddhaghosa's statement about this type of blood is more expressive than the former one (i.e. Sannicita Lohitaṃ) as seems to be indicated by the following quotation from the Pali text which runs thus "Samsaraṇalohitaṃ Kesalomanakhadantānaṃ maṃsavanimuttaṭṭhānaṃ thaddhasukkhacammaṇa vajjetvā dhamanijālānusāreṇa sabbaṃ upā-

dinnasarīraṃ pharitvā ñhitam” (Visuddhimagga, p 261). This short textual quotation fairly indicates the idea of the circulation of blood as known to Buddhaghosa. The medium of transport in the circulatory system is blood. Blood moves in a cyclic order continuously throughout the whole body, even to the most minute pharitvā structures (sabbam upādinnaśarīraṃ) by the instrumentality of the network of Arteries and veins (dhamanijālānusāreṇa) and after performing its beneficial functions to the respective organs and tissues returns to the heart, its starting point. It may be noted that according to modern physiology, the vessels carrying blood away from the heart are arteries (dhamanīs) and the vessels carrying blood to the heart are veins (śīrās). Another point to be noted in this connection is whether or not the words “Samsaraṇa” and “Pharitvā” employed by Buddhaghosa in this context bear the sense of “recurrent movement of blood”; It is a disputed question. But here taking recourse to etymological conjectures, we are inclined to think that the idea of recurring movement of blood in a cyclic manner is not precluded by the use of such expressions in this connection.

Thus the above long discussion on Āyurvedic sources seems to prove convincingly that medical authorities like Caraka and Suśruta of ancient India were fully conversant with the basic truths underlying the Blood circulatory system. In commenting on the knowledge of the ancient Hindu physicians in the circulatory system, Kaviraj Dharendra Nath Ray thus observes “We see, therefore, that the ancient Hindus had some definite idea about circulation. Whereas, in modern physiology, we have the blood circulating throughout the body and nourishing every form of tissue, in Āyurveda we have the rasadhātu circulating throughout the body and nourishing all other dhātus, its special seat being the heart. The Rasa is driven from the heart to all parts of the body and after performing its beneficial functions it comes back to the heart. When we remember that blood is nothing but the transformed Rasa and when we also remember that this idea about the Rasa circulation was established more than two thousand years ago, we are struck with the evident similarity between the ancient and modern views.” (Principle of Triḍoṣa in Āyurveda, p117). As to the mature of Buddhaghosa's knowledge in a secular subject like Medicine, Dr. B. C. Law thus observes “The masterly anatomical description of the thirtytwo parts of the body given by him in the Visuddhimagga must be set down to his credit as a student of the science of medicine, if it were not based entirely upon the authority of the Sinhalese commentaries utilized by him.” (B. C. Law, Buddhaghosa, p 33). That Buddhaghosa, the greatest Pali commentator of the 5th century A. D, was fully acquainted with the Blood vascular system, is amply proved by his knowledge in Anatomy and Physiology displayed in his writings as recorded in some of his Pali works. He might have derived his materials not only from the current schools of Indian medicine but also from other traditions current

adding a few pages of anatomical interest with some of his Pali works which would be of immense value not only to the medical students but also to those interested in the study of Indian Medicine.

The overwhelming evidence thus produced from various sources goes to prove conclusively that the Indian physicians of the ages of Suśruta (6th Century B.C.), Caraka (1st-2nd Century A.D.) and Buddhaghosa (5th Century A.D.) respectively, had a very accurate knowledge about the theory of the circulation of blood long before its rediscovery by William Harvey who contributed a great deal to Medical Science with special reference to the circulatory system.

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THE NAME KAMMĀSADAMMA – ITS BACKGROUND

Deveprasad Guha

After the usual beginning of a Nikāya Sutta with the words 'evaṃ me sutam', the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta of the Mjjhimanikāya continues to say : Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Kurūsu viharati Kammāsadhammaṃ nāma Kūrūnaṃ nigamo. The reading is taken from the Ceylonese edition of the text. In other editions, the text reads Kammāsadamma in place of Kammāsadamma. The construction of the sentence is rather peculiar, since its later part beginning with Kammā sadamma appears to be isolated from the rest of the sentence. In none of the editions there is any punctuation except the usual full-stop at the end of the sentence. It is to be noted that similar constructions are found in the Nikāyas, details of which are furnished below. It is further to be noted that in every case the sentence begins with the words 'Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā':

Aṅgesu	viharati	Assapuraṃ	nāma	Aṅgānaṃ	nigamo	M	i	338, 349
"	"	Āpaṇaṃ	"	"	"	S	iii	197
Aṅguttarāpesu	"	"	"	"	"	M	ii	22, 111
Kurūsu	"	Kammāsadammaṃ	"	Kurūnaṃ	"	D	ii	42, 231
						M	ii	169; iii 48
						S	i	318, 330
Kolīyesu	"	Uttaraṃ	"	Kolīyānaṃ	"	S	ii	520
"	"	Kakkārapattaṃ	"	"	"	S	iii	107
"	"	Pajjanakaṃ	"	"	"	A	i	307
"	"	Sāmagāmaṃ	"	"	"	A	i	515
"	"	Haliddavāsanaṃ	"	"	"	M	ii	50; S iii 100
Mallesu	"	Uruvelakappaṃ	"	Mallānaṃ	"	S	ii	510; iii 200
Sakkesu	"	Devadahaṃ	"	Sakkānaṃ	"	M	iii	1; S iii 5, 8
"	"	Nagarakaṃ	"	"	"	S	iii	2; iv 2
"	"	Medalumpakaṃ	"	"	"	M	ii	320
Sumhesu	,	Setakaṃ	,	Sumhānaṃ	,	S	iii	79, 146-47

It is rather interesting to note that the aforesaid references, all culled incidentally from the Chatṭha Saṅgāyana editions of the texts, relate to the visit of the Master in some township or other, and that on every occasion the place visited is indicated by the nominative instead of the expected locative case. Such a use of the nominative case is not warranted by any of the ancient Indian grammatical principles known to us. This use in Pali may, therefore, be reckoned as unique, and the uniqueness is distinguished by its rarity. Might be that it is the dialectical form of hoary antiquity since lost.

To turn to the word *Kammāsadamma* which, as has been mentioned above, has as its variant the form *Kammāsadhama*. Normally we would have ignored the variant as wrong, since seldom, if at all a place-name ends with -dhamma. But then, we feel helpless as it is found that Buddhaghosa, the celebrated commentator, had recognised both the forms and had commented on both of them. Evidently the scholiast had before him more than one text. Commenting on *Kammāsadamma*, Buddhaghosa has said — “*Kururaṭṭha-vāsīnaṃ kira Kuruvattadhamma, Tasmim Kammāso jāto, tasmā taṃ ṭhānaṃ ‘Kammāso ettha dhamme jāto’ ti Kammāsadhamman ti vuccati (Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, PTS edn., ii 483).*”

With due regard to what the scholiast had said in respect of the name of the place, we feel that the reading *Kurudamma* is more suggestive and has a stronger background which would be presented later. Here we would like to refer to the interpretation offered by the celebrated commentator. Said he : *Kammāso ettha damito ti Kammāsadamman — Kammāso ti kammā sapādo porisādo vuccati (ibid., ii 483).*

The Pali word *damma* is to be derived *dam+ya*. The suffix *ya*, as is well-known, is used to indicate gerund or future passive participle. But, none of these grammatical forms fits in with the present context. As such, the principles of grammar do not stand by us. The phonetic principles, however, help us to get the necessary solution. In the exegesis quoted above, the word *damma* is found to stand for *damita*. From this word, it seems possible to get the form *damma* phonetically in the manner stated below :

- damita > *damia (through the elision of intervocal t)
- > damya (i+a=ya by Sandhi; the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil, 515ff has in it the form *Kalmāsadamya*)
- > damma (by assimilation)

Now, the interpretations of Buddhaghosa, as quoted above, speak of two names, to wit, *Kammāsa* and *Kammāsapada*. It appears that the first one was the name of a cannibal, while the second one his appellation. As such, it seems necessary to know who the cannibal was, and how he got the appellation.

The Sanskrit word *kalmāṣa* is quite old in age. It is found in the Great Epics, in the *Purāṇaṣ*, in the *Vājasenayī* and *Taittirīya Saṃhitās*, and even in the *Atharvaveda*. It means 'spotted', 'variegated', 'speckled with black'. Then again a lexicon of unknown authorship interprets it as the name of a *raṅgasa*. So does the *medinīkoṣa*.

The Sanskrit word *kalmāṣapāda* literally means 'having speckled feet'. The Great Epics and certain *Purāṇa* texts take it to be the name of a scion of the celebrated Ikṣvāku dynasty whose real name was *Mitrasaha*. The texts,

referred to above, contain episodes about him following which it is possible to present a sketch of his life, as also to say how he came to acquire the appellation Kalmāṣapāda.

According to the *Mahābhārata* (Ādiparva, chapter 76), Mitrasaha, the king, once went out a-hunting. While on return, on a narrow road, he confronted Śakti, the eldest son of the sage Vaśiṣṭha. None, however, was prepared to make way for the other; Śakti out of pride of birth, and Mitrasaha because of the vanity for his exalted position. After sometime the irritated monarch struck Śakti with a whip whereupon the latter cursed him saying that he would have to lead the life of a ferocious *rākṣasa* for long twelve years. The sage Viśvāmitra, then a rival of Vaśiṣṭha, came to know about the happening, and he so contrived that the body of Mitrasaha became possessed by a *rākṣasa*. Thus affected, the king left his palace repaired to the forest and lived on the flesh of persons he himself attacked and killed.

The Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (xxviii 10-37) presents the story somewhat differently. According to it, Mitrasaha went out for hunting and came across two tiger cubs, actually *rākṣasas* in disguise. The king killed one, whereupon the other assumed his real form and left the palace warning the killer that he would have to suffer consequences. The king returned to the palace depressed, and told Vaśiṣṭha that a *yajña* was to be performed. The chaplain agreed to help him. Within days, the indignant *rākṣasa*, assuming the form of Vaśiṣṭha, approached the monarch and told him that he would like to have a meal with meat dish, and requested him to send the same to his hermitage secretly. Mitrasaha had the dish prepared by his consort Madayantī, and sent it to the sage innocently. Vaśiṣṭha took it as a personal insult, and transformed the king into a *rākṣasa*.

More or less the same episode is found in the Śiva - and Viṣṇupurāṇas, except in respect of the following points which are in the Purāṇic accounts : (i) that the distressed *rākṣasa* took a job in the guise of a cook in the royal kitchen, prepared a dish of human flesh and had it served to Vaśiṣṭha when once the sage was invited to take food at the royal palace, and (ii) that the sage, who felt slighted since he understood the nature of the flesh served, cursed the king to the effect that he would have to lead the life of a *rākṣasa* for a period of twelve years.

The two Purāṇas further say that when Vaśiṣṭha cursed Mitrasaha, the latter became angry since he felt and that legitimately that he himself was in no way guilty. So, to retaliate and curse back the sage, he took some water in hand and was about to throw it with the words of curse. Noticing this, the queen dissuaded him, and asked him to throw the water on his own feet. The king did so, and the feet became so scalded that they turned black and white. Thus, Mitrasaha came to be known as kalmāṣapāda.

The curse-ridden monarch, so says the *Mahābhārata* (Ādiparva, chapter 177), started looking upon Vasiṣṭha and his sons with inveterate hatred. In the guise of a *rākṣasa*, he started roaming about in the forest and countrysides. His first victim was Śakti, and in the process he killed all the other ninety-nine sons of the sage one after another. The distressed father attempted to commit suicide several times, but failed. At the end of twelve years, Vasiṣṭha met Mitrasaha and sprinkled holy water on his body. At once the *rākṣasa* left his body, and Mitrasaha got back his original frame and grace.

Let us now turn to the story of Kammāsapāda as found in the Mahāsuta-soma-jātaka of the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*. One day, in the absense of any other meat, a dressed dish of human flesh was served to Brahmadata, the king of Benares. He took it, and developed a taste for it. Since then he insisted on this particular type of meat, and the flesh began to be procured by killing his own subjects. The king's way of life made the people disgusted and he was driven out of the kingdom. The monarch took to forest with some of his attendants who too, in course of time, fell victim to his abnormal avarice, and there was none left. One day the king attacked a brahmin who was passing through the forest with a retinue. His men chased the erst-while king, and as he ran for life an acacia splinter got stuck into his foot causing deep wound and unbearable pain. The afflicted found a banyan tree nearby. He approached it and made a vow that if he be cured within a week he would bathe its trunk with the blood of a hundred and one princes. Within the specified time the wound healed, leaving only some scar of black and white on the foot. Thus, he came to acquire the appellation Kammāsapāda. The man-eater went on keeping his promise, killed one hundred princes one after another, and hung their bodies on the branches of the banyan tree with cords passed through the palms of the victims.

The atrocious act of Brahmadata alarmed the presiding spirit of the tree who appeared before him in person and asked him to fulfil his vow by capturing and killing the Kuru king Sutasoma. Eager to appease the spirit, the cannibal went all the way to the Kuru country, and hid himself in the royal park awaiting the arrival of the king. On his usual visit to the park the king was accosted on the way by Nanda, a brahmin, who offered to teach him four verses on payment. The king agreed to listen to him on his way back home, and moved ahead. As soon as he reached the park, the cannibal caught him whereupon he promised to return to his presence after learning the verses from the brahmin. Back he went to Nanda, heard the verses, made the payment and returned to the park. Kammāsapāda carried him to the said banyan tree whereupon the king recited the recently learnt verses which precisely spoke of the virtues of truthfulness. The man-eater became moved, and offered to give him four boons. Sutasoma readily accepted the offer, and

the fourth boon he asked for was that the cannibal should give up the ignominious habit of eating human flesh. The latter was persuaded whereupon Sutasoma took him to Benares, and restored him to his kingdom. Out of gratitude to the tree-spirit, a settlement was set up at the site where Kammāsapāda was won over, and was named Kammāsadamma.

The Sutasoma-jātaka of the *Jātakamālā* of Āryasūra too, tells the story of Kalmāṣapāda. The story runs thus. The Kuru king Sutasoma was an ardent lover of well-turned verses, and used to pay handsomely to the reciters of such verses. This encouraged a brahmin with the ability to recite such verses to approach the king. As he was going to recite, a commotion arose. And the king came to know that the man-eater king Kalmāṣapāda, son of king Sudāsa of Benares, was at his gate. He was further told that the subject people of Kalmāṣapāda became disgusted with their master and decided to do away with him. Being terrified, the cannibal had made a vow that, should he be saved from the peril, he would appease the goblins with a sacrifice with flesh and blood of one hundred kings. Hearing the details, Sutasoma felt compassion for Kalmāṣapāda, asked the brahmin to wait till he returned, approached the fiend and disclosed his identity. The elated cannibal caught hold of him, and took him at once to the place where his other captives were kept. In the meanwhile, Sutasoma remembered that he was promise-bound, and pleaded with Kalmāṣapāda for a temporary release which was somewhat reluctantly granted. Went back the king to the brahmin, listened from him a tetrad on the virtues of truthfulness, rewarded the reciter, and returned to the place of captivity. Kalmāṣapāda became moved for his regard for truthfulness, whereupon Sutasoma admonished him, and the fiend surrendered. All the captives were then released, and Kalmāṣapāda was restored to his old glory.

Yet another story, and that is the Jayaddisa-jātaka, again from the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*. According to it king Pañcāla of Kamilla had four sons. Of them the first two were crunched to death by an ogress immediately after their birth. This ogress, in the previous life, was the co-wife of the present queen of Pañcāla, and was extremely jealous of her. Now, when the third son was born to the queen, the ogress, as she did previously, tried to kill the baby, but failed. however, the ogress succeeded in snatching away the boy who, taking her for his mother, put his lips on her breast. This generated motherly feeling in the ogress who took him to her abode in a cave, and reared him up. As the child grew, he was regularly provided with human flesh for his food, and was trained to lead the life of an ogre. After the death of the ogress, the fourth son of the king was born. He was called Jayaddisa who ascended the throne of Kampilla after his father's demise. Jayaddisa's son was Alīnasattu.

One day a brahmin, Nanda by name, who was a reciter of well-turned verses, approached the king and offered to speak to him four such verses on

payment. As the king was about to start on a hunting expedition, Nanda was asked to wait till his return. The king went away, and as he was chasing an antelope, inadvertantly he stepped into the jurisdiction of a fiend, and was caught. Remembering about his promise with brahmin, Jayaddisa pleaded with the fiend to allow him to keep his pledge. He was permitted on condition that he would return after honouring the pledge. The king went away, heard the brahmin, and paid him his fees. Now, hearing of his father's debacle, Alīnasattu, with the permission of his father, approached the fiend, admonished him on the efficacy of moral principles, and succeeded in winning him over. Through the help of an ascetic, the prince came to know that the fiend was his own uncle, reported the king about the turn of events, whereupon Jayaddisa approached his elder brother and offered him the kingdom. The offer was politely refused, and the human fiend decided to turn to the life of an ascetic. Jayaddisa then set up a settlement at the place where his brother took up residence which came to be known as Culla Kammāsadamma.

A CENTRE OF BUDDHIST RELIGION AND LEARNING

Angane Lal

Sri Parvata¹ or Sri Saila², an important centre of religion and learning was also a famous Siddhapitha where Buddhist ascetics lived and practiced austerities. Sukhāvati Vyūha³ calls it as Bodhisattvasthāna and Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian calls it the land of Kāśyapa Buddha.⁴ The close association of Nāgārjuna, the great Buddhist Philosopher with the Sri parvata is well known.

The great city of Vijayapuri— the capital of the Ikshvāku rulers of Andhra, was situated on this hill. In the eastern part of the city there was a great Buddhist Monastery⁵ called Mahācetiya Mahāvihāra.

The religious establishment resounding with the Dharmaghosa, led to its new name as Dhammagiri⁶ which was decorated with the beautiful monuments.⁷ Fa-hian gives an account of the saṅghārāma built out of the hill.⁸ Hsüen Tsang has also given a picturesque description of five storeyed monastery.⁹ The pilgrim also visited the Asokan monuments near the monastery.¹⁰ Mr. D. B. Diskalkar emphatically says that emperor Asoka built the stūpa or mahāstūpa to enshrine the relics of the Buddha.¹¹

The sacred hill is also associated with Nāgārjuna whose name and fame as well as his work and worship are all stamped on the entire area hallowed by the sanctity of his personality raised to the status of the Bodhisattva. A Sātavahana king¹² (most probably yajñaSri Sātakarni or his predecessor)

1. Mañjusri Mūlakaṭṭha - 2/333/16 ; Nāgārjuna Koṇḍa inscription of Vīrapuruṣadatta year 14, line 2

2. Ibid.

3. Sukhāvativyūha, 70/15-16

4. Beal, Ch A. Ind Vol. 1/43.

5. Nāgārjuna Koṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year, 14, line 2 · Siripavate Vijayapuriya puva disā bhāge vihāre.

6. Ibid, No. 2, line 5.

7. Ibid, year 14, line 3.

8. Beal, Ch A Ind Vol. 1/43

9. Ibid., Vol. 4/418-421

10. Ibid., Vol 4/415.

11. 2500 years of Buddhism, p. 336

12. Muni, K. S. Nāgārjuna, p. 12

constructed a big monastery here for this great scholar as he was the fast friend of the philosopher¹ who had written an epistle in verse namely Suhrillekha to his friend.² Mr. Thomas Watters is of the opinion that monastery was a five storeyed building which is described in detail by both the Chinese travellers.³ Hiuen Tsang states that one thousand monks were living and studying in this great vihāra. Nāgārjuna, the head of the monastery, had collected all authoritative works spoken by Śākyamuni Buddha, commentaries and exceptional collections in miscellaneous schools.⁴ The famous centre of light and learning had attracted the Buddhists from different corners of the country and from abroad as well.⁵ Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa inscriptions of Vīrapuruṣadatta of Ikshvāku dynasty of Andhra also mentions that these Buddhists had constructed the monasteries in the name of their country viz., Ujanika vihāra⁶, Kulah vihāra⁷ and Sīhala vihāra.⁸ The inscription also throws light on the Buddhist sects and schools of the region. Apāramahāvīnaseliya⁹ sect of Buddhism was prevalent there. Rev. Chanda Mukha, Dhamma Nandi and Nāga Thera¹⁰ were the prominent scholars of the Mahāvihāra.

The archaeological excavations of Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa have revealed the remains of the vast Saṅghārāma which included a number of vihāras, stūpas, chaityas and mandapas.

The site had yielded over five hundred beautiful executed stone bas-relief, relating to Buddha and Buddhism.¹¹ The religious settlement was established under the patronage of Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku rulers, whose coins and inscriptions have been discovered there.

Dr. B. C. Law identifies Sriparvata with the Risabhagiri of Telangana, situated on the Southern bank of the Krishna river.¹² Dr. V. S. Agarwal locate

1 Itsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion, pp. 158-59.

2. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Part II, pp. 207-208, Beal Ch A. Ind. 1/43-44

3 Beal, Ch A. Ind Vol 4/420

4&5 Ibid. Vol 4/415

6&7. Nāgārjuni Konda, Inscription of Vīrapuruṣadatta No 2, line 3

8. Ibid. year 14, line 3

9 Ibid, No 3, line 8

10. Ibid, Year 14, lines 3-4

11. Ancient India, Bulletin No. 9, pp. 167-68.

12. B C Law, H G I, p. 189.

it in Karnol district.¹ Hiuen Tsang described Nāgārjuna Mahāvihāra built on Po-to-mo-lo-ki-lo or Bhramaragiri which is identified by Burgess with Sriparvata.² Mr. K. S. Murty writes that— Nallamlai range, of which Bhramaragiri is also a part, in the time of Ikshvākus was called Sri Parvata.³ Because of the deep association of Nāgārjuna with the Sri Parvata it became famous after the name of Nāgārjuna. Now it is called Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa (district Guntur, Andhra Pradesh) which is sixty-five miles away to the west of Amarāvati.⁴

Thus Sri Parvata, has played important role in the cultural and religious history of India.

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1. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa - A Sanskritik Adhayan, p. 146.
 2. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, part II, p. 207.
 3. Nagarjuna, p. 59.
 4. Ancient India, Bulletin No. 9, p. 167.

ETHICS AND DEATH IN EARLY BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY

Ven. Bhikshu Satyapala

Ethics is a branch of Philosophy which prescribes guiding principles to face the problems of life. It studies the activities of human beings and pronounces them right or wrong. It examines their influence on one's individual life and society and determines their moral values. It frames the code of conduct or moral values. It frames the code of conduct or moral duties for human beings to characters. In brief, Ethics is a discipline regarding moral values.

From the ethical point of view, human life like the complex nature of society is a complex of evil and good. For some ethicists, mere joy and happiness of life are good, while sorrows and sufferings of life are evils. Ordinarily, people exhibit this belief in their day to day life, when they try to alleviate their own pain and the pains of others. Some ethicists, however, opine that joy and happiness of life in themselves are not good, but what is good is the overall well-being of individual and society. In short, ethics deals with the activities of human beings, their after-effects and their direct or indirect influence on the fellow beings of a society.

According to a general classification of the activities whereby a man remains entangled throughout his life. They are of two types, viz., intentional activities and unintentional ones. The intentional activities performed by an individual or by a group of individuals are of four categories :- (a) activities which are beneficial only, (b) activities which are beneficial to other fellow beings of society, (c) activities which are neither beneficial to the performer nor to the fellow beings of society, and (d) activities which are beneficial to both the performer and the fellow beings of society. The beneficial activities are morally good for they bring joys and happiness to individual and fellow beings. Non-beneficial activities are immoral and evil because they erode the bright and moral aspects of life. Life of human being is thus, from ethical or moral point of view, partly moral and partly immoral. The ethicists determine the moral values of the activities and then frame code and norms of conduct.¹

Besides all these sorts of intentional activities, there are also some activities of life whereby an individual gets himself involved without having any intention for them. Among such unintentional activities of life, the problems of decay, disease and death are most prominent. The ethicists call the process of decay and disease that makes an individual out-dated and unfit for any

moral or immoral purpose inevitable once this process set in, it makes man dependent on and burden of the family of society to which he belongs. As an out-dated or defaced coin has no value for its holder, so an aged and ailing person ceases to have any value for his family or society. Decay and disease are regarded as enemies of life because they take away all ease and comfort of life.²

But the problem becomes more serious when the same phenomenon of life, say for example death, the last incident of life is described as the greatest enemy and greatest friend as well. Death, is regarded by the pessimists as the greatest enemy of life for it takes the dying being away from all his near and dear ones and leaves him to an unknown destiny. Again some optimists, describe death as a great friend, as it takes away all sorrows and sufferings of the dying being. Thus the ascertaining of moral or ethical values of death becomes a controversial and interesting issue.

Death is of many kinds such as natural death and unnatural death, timely death and untimely death etc. When some ethicists describe death as good, do they include all types of death or some selected types of death only? It is yet to be explored. Again, when they describe death as an evil, do they frame some code of conduct or norms to avoid such evil death? It is also a burning question crying for solution.

Buddha was a free thinker who discarded all traditional ritualistic ethics and extreme paths. Instead, he adopted a moderate path. Through the practice of four Anupassanās³ (Kayā, Vedanā, Cittā, Dhamma – Anupassanā) and a microscopical analysis of personality, he realised the reality, the essence of all existent things and beings of the visible and invisible world (saṃsāra) in the following three ways :-

- (a) Transient are all conditioned things
(Sabbe Saṅkhārā aniccā);⁴
- (b) Sorrowful are all conditioned things
(Sabbe Saṅkhārā dukkhā)⁵; and
- (c) All phenomenon are soulless
(Sabbe dhammā anattā)⁶.

The path that he had adopted and the path that he had preached to others for the easy understanding and realisation of the reality, is nothing but the Eightfold Path otherwise known as the Middle Path. The *Dhammacakkapavattana*,⁷ the first ever discourse of the Buddha, is supposed to be the earliest source of this Middle Path. There, in the Category of the First Noble



Truth, death has been described by the Buddha as one and the last of the four prime evils of life of human being. Although there are innumerable types of sorrows and sufferings rising from various sources, Buddha mentioned only four⁸ prime sources of evils of life, for these four sources cover all evils which are connected directly with physical aspects of life. Besides, he had also mentioned three⁹ other sources connected with the mental aspect of life. They are (a) association with undesired element, (b) disassociation with the desired element and (c) not achieving the desired element.

Their categorisation under the First Noble Truth does not mean that the sorrows and sufferings which spring from them are of the same nature or of the same degree. Their order beginning with birth (Jāti) and ending with death (maraṇa) represents the successive stage of their arising in the life of a human being, if he dies in his full maturity. Their arrangement also represents various degree of sorrows and sufferings in succession. This, thus, shows that death is the greatest source of suffering in one's life. It is for this reason that every one fears death¹⁰ and consequently wants to avoid it, as one wants to avoid his enemy.

Elsewhere, in the canonical literature death has been described as *Maccu Māra*¹¹. It has been portrayed there with all the mythical colours and qualities of *Māra*, the Evil one. The same fact of death (maraṇa) on the other hand, is described as an aspect of the Phenomenal Truth (Vohārikaṃ Saccam) leading one towards the realisation of the Ultimate Reality (paramattha-Saccam). Many Passages in the *Piṭaka* literature praise the death of the Arahantas because they attain Nibbāna, Parinibbāna, Anupādisesa Nibbāna and Mahāparinibbāna,¹² the Ultimate Goal.

Thus, the Buddhist literature too, presents death in both ways i.e. evil and good. The first hand reading of Pāli literature surely puts its readers in a state of dilemma on the problem whether death in reality is evil or good.

According to the view of some ethicists an evil always remains an evil. It cannot be turned into a good. Again a good always remains good. As darkness and brightness in nature are opposed to each other, so are good and evil. Evil, being harmful and unwanted, should, always be avoided and replaced by good. Death as a fearful evil phenomenon is the greatest evil of life. So, this evil death should be avoided by everybody. But could anyone avoid death and replace it by any alternative good? No, never. None on this earth can avoid this greatest evil of life by replacing it by some other alternative good. When Buddha, even after attaining the supreme Enlightenment could not avoid or replace death by any other alternative, then who else can? The question is what does the Buddhist philosophy suggest then to turn the evil death into good death? This is one of the most burning philosophical problems of our life.

Here an attempt has been made to answer the question, from Buddhist point of view.

The personality of a human being, according to Buddhist psycho-physiological analysis, is the conglomeration of the five following aggregates viz.

- (i) aggregates of material qualities (Rūpakkkhandha),
- (ii) aggregates of feelings (Vedanākkhandha)
- (iii) aggregates of perceptions (Saññākkhandha),
- (iv) aggregates of mental formations (Saṅkhārakkhandha),
- and (v) aggregates of consciousness (Viññāṇakkhandha).

Life of a being in its present form beginning with birth (Jāti) and ends with death (Marāṇa), but according to the theory of Karma and rebirth as propounded by the Buddha, it is a beginningless and endless process of successive continuation from the past to the present and from the present towards the future. So is true with the life of human being consisting of the above mentioned fivefold aggregate (Pañcakkhandhiko satto). After fully knowing the conditioning causes of his present existence its continuation till his final liberation face to face, Buddha formulated them in the form of Paṭiccasamuppādanaya.¹³ All the prime phases including the two pole-points of life of a human being have been very microscopically and systematically analysis, examined and also with a scientific approach these have been defined by the Buddha himself. Not only this, a detailed description of such an analysis of the phenomenon of death is available in the Piṭaka literature.

The *Sacca Saṃyutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and many other suttas of the Piṭaka Literature define death in various terms in the following manner :—

“Tattha katamaṃ maraṇaṃ? Ya tesāṃ tesāṃ sattānaṃ tamhā tamhā sattanikāyā cuti cavanatā bhedo antaradhānaṃ maccu, maraṇaṃ, kālakiriyaṃ, khandhānaṃ bhedo, kalevarassa nikkhepo, jīvitendriyassupacchedo—idaṃ vuccati maraṇaṃ”.¹⁴

In this article, out of these various definitions just one i.e. *Cuti* only will be discussed in brief purely from the psychological point of view towards the evaluation of death whether it is moral, immoral or indeterminate.

The phenomenon of death, when analysed from purely psychological point of view, is technically termed as '*Cuti*'. '*Cuti*' is also a synonym of death adopted by the Buddhist scholars to refer to the last phenomenon that takes place at the psychological level during one's dying moment. At one's dying

moment the *Cuti Citta* belonging to the fifth and the last aggregate known as the *Viññānakkhandha*, performs its last function of passing away or falling (*Cuti*) from its present form of existence. Hence, the psychological phenomenon of death (*Marāṇa*) is technically termed as '*Cuti*'.¹⁵ Now a relevant question that arises here is— what is the nature of '*Cuti citta*'?

'*Cuti citta*' is a name given to a particular kind of consciousness known as the *Vipāka Cittas* (resultant consciousness). Out of the total number of eighty nine types of consciousness only thirty six¹⁶ types are grouped as the '*Vipāka Citta*'. The '*Vipāka Cittas*' are such types of *Cittas* which arise as the inevitable results (*Vipāka*) of the previous wholesome (*kusala*) and unwholesome (*Akusala*) deeds (*Kamma*). Again, of these *Vipāka Cittas*, only nineteen¹⁷ types of the *Vipāka citta*s do the function of the '*Cuti Citta*'.

However, it is to be borne in mind here that all these nineteen types of the '*Vipāka Cittas*' do not appear at a time during the time of one's dying moment. Any one of these nineteen types of the '*Vipāka Cittas*' may appear for the last time at one's dying moment in the form of *Cuti Citta* to perform the last function of consciousness i.e. '*Cuti Kicca*' popularly known as *Maccu* or *Marāṇa*.¹⁸ Which of these '*Vipāka Cittas*' will appear to whom will purely depends upon the type of the moral or immoral consciousness that occur during *Marāṇāsanna Javana Citta* in his or her previous life just prior to this. The *Javana citta* of the *Marāṇāsanna Vithi Citta* of one's preceding life appears as the first rebirth linking consciousness (*Paṭisandhi-viññāna*). According to the Theravadin Abhidhammic tradition, the *Paṭisandhivīññāna* has other two functions to perform in one's life. They are (a) the *Bhavaṅgikicca* (function of life-continuum) and the *Cuti-kicca* (function of disintegration of the *Viññānakkhandha* from others (*khandhas*) of this life. As these *Vipāka Cittas* are either the resultant of Moral activities consciousness (*Kusala Kamma*) or the resultant of the immoral activities consciousness (*Akusala kamma*), so the *Vipāka-Citta* cannot yield further *Vipākas*. The *Vipāka-citta*s can neither be categorised as the moral consciousness nor as the immoral consciousness. They are indeterminate (*Avyākata-citta*). Thus, the last function of one's life i.e. death being the physical expression of an indeterminate consciousness (*Avyākata-citta*) cannot be stamped with any label of moral value namely evil or good. Death is categorised as an indeterminate phenomenon.

When the nature of the *Cuti Citta* is indeterminate and the Phenomenon of death has been described in the ultimate sense as an indeterminate one, then another relevant question arises as to why death has often been presented as the *Maccu Mara* on the one hand, and as a factor of the First Noble Truth on the other?

Death, when described or personified as the *Maccu Māra*, does not refer to any mythical evil personality living in a particular plane of existence. There it refers only to the mental agonies, lamentation, repentance, etc. related with the thoughts of death-phenomenon and its real approach, that arise at one's dying moment and nothing else. They suppress and oppress the dying being. In this very context it has been described as the *Maccu Māra* (*Māreti ti Māro*).¹⁹

Buddha, as a practical healer and rational teacher never asked or advised his followers to stop the advent of death or replace it by some alternative, for it is quite impossible. What he advised is only to minimise the causes of sorrows and sufferings caused due to the ignorance of the reality of life particularly that of the death phenomenon, if not to uproot them completely in one's life-span. Death has been personified as the *Maccu Māra* only with a view to moulding the mass-mind and making them realise this stark reality a universal fact i.e. death.

Death is a reality, because it happens to all mortal beings. It falls on all with certainty like the falling of the stone thrown in the sky. It is Truth, because it is undeniable. Death is an empirical Truth, for life without death is not complete. Death is an unavoidable, inseparable and integral part of life. It is a universal Truth, because it happens to all living beings of all time residing in all planes of existence of the universe. It is good, because its understanding always minimises the sorrows and sufferings of life, leads towards further higher good, and makes the dying—being morally enough hold to face it fearlessly. Death is also described as Truth, because the realisation of the Ultimate Truth (*Paramatthasaccaṃ*) i.e. *Nibbāna* purely depends on the realisation of true nature of death-phenomenon. Death is categorised as a factor of the Noble Truth (*Ariyasaccaṃ*) because after the realisation of its true nature, even a notorious person turns into a Noble person (*Ariya-puggala*). A Noble person becomes a worthy citizen of a society. Even at the risk of his own life, a Noble Truth, because the realisation of other three Noble Truths are essentially interlinked with the realisation of the first.

Apart from the above mentioned method of evaluation of the ethical value of death, there is other way to evaluate its ethical value from the view point of the mode of its occurrence.

Ethical values like good and bad generally are labelled on the mode of death. Modes of death are numerous. But they according to the Buddhist way of classification, may be brought under two broad categories namely :— (a) Timely Death (*Kāla Maraṇa*) and (b) Untimely Death (*Akāla Maraṇa*)²⁰ There may be another classification in the following two ways namely :—

natural death and unnatural death. The modes of death like untimely death and unnatural death are more painful than the timely and natural modes of death. So the painful unwanted untimely and unnatural modes of death are generally described as the evil or ill-fated or unfortunate end of life.

The comments made by the Buddha regarding the natural unnatural and timely untimely mode of death faced by many of his prominent disciples are noteworthy to evaluate the ethical value of such mode of death from Buddhist point of view. Among his prominent disciples, *Godhika*,²¹ and *Sappadāsa*²² had met their mature but unnatural death by committing suicide. Again *Santati*²³ and *Ānanda*²⁴ had met their self-willed unnatural mode of death. *Bakkula*²⁵ had self-immolated himself and thus had an unnatural death. Although all of them had faced their unnatural mode of death, their deaths were highly praised by the Buddha himself as blameless, for all of them had attained the final stage of Sainthood i.e. Nibbāna either long before or shortly before the appearance of the *Cuti Citta*. On the other hand, the unnatural death met by *Ciñcā*,²⁶ *Cunda sukarika*,²⁷ *Devadatta*,²⁸ *Suppabuddha*²⁹ and the natural death faced by other prominent disciples were not praised by the Buddha as blameless for none of them could attain even the first stage of the sainthood before the passing away of their *Cuti Cittas*.

Mention of some other ways of classification of death viz. *Āyukkhaya Maraṇa*, *Kammakkhaya Maraṇa*, *Upaccheda maraṇa*, *Samuccheda maraṇa*³⁰ from various angles of life is found scattered in Pali literature, but never is a single reference of classifying death as *Kusala Maraṇa* and *Akusala Maraṇa* seen.

The above mentioned various classifications and their careful minute analysis of death certainly shows that the Buddhists do not attach any ethical value to the death phenomenon or its modes of approach. Ethical values are attached only to the states of consciousness that occur just before the appearance of the *Cuti Citta* calling it the Moral consciousness (*Kusala Citta*), Immoral consciousness (*Akusala Citta*) and Non-moral or Indeterminate consciousness (*Avyākata/Ahetuka Citta*) or to the *Kamma* that is performed at the mental level just before the appearance of the *Cuti Citta* or before the occurrence of death the last function (*Cuti Kicca*) of the last consciousness of the present on human form of existence. From the Buddhist ethical point of view, *Kammās* performed by a person are classified under four categories namely : — *Kaṇha Kamma*, (dark action) *sukka Kamma* (bright action) *Kaṇha-sukka Kamma* (both dark and bright) and *Neva Kaṇha Kamma na sukka kamma* (neither dark nor bright action) or *kusala kamma*, *Akusala Kamma* and *Neva kusalakamma na kusala akamma* (*Kiriya*).³¹

At best one can describe death as an instrumental good or bad like money. Money is good, only when it brings material comforts, or serves our purpose in life. If it does not help to bring any of these or if it brings undesired elements, it becomes bad. A man does not desire or possesses money for its own sake, but only for the sake of other things that will enable its holder to have.

The same may be explained with help of another simile of a scissors. A scissors may be regarded as good when a successful surgery takes place. But the same scissors may turn to be an evil when it is not efficacious. Goodness or badness does not intrinsically exist in the scissors. Success or failure of surgery does not depend on the scissors only but it depends on the experience and expertise of the physician. The same holds true with the phenomenon of death. Like the falling of leaves from trees, death is a natural and universal phenomenon inevitably functioning in all beings. It is a state of affair. As a fact in itself does not carry any ethical value, so is the case of death. A being faces death helplessly but a man with enough courage can change the modes of death and even can face it without the least fear.

The description of death as an evil or punishment on the one hand is a partial, biased and pessimistic view point and good or reward on the other hand is also a partial, biased and optimistic view. These partial, biased, pessimistic and optimistic views are always impractical and not helpful for both the dying-being and the rest of the society. These partial views are not helpful for the achievement of peace and tranquillity of mind. These are also not helpful in attaining the highest spiritual goal of life. The indifferent balanced right views of the Arahantas and the Tathāgatas regarding death is the only practical, unbiased and helpful view.

In real sense, Buddhism, as it is represented in its earlier texts like the Dhammapada, the Suttanipāta etc., finds its origin in the form of pure ethics or moral path and not as a so called philosophy and not even as a religion of this moral path i.e., the eightfold Noble Path, the Right-view is the first important factor. It is the Right-view the culture of which gradually and finally culminates in the form of Wisdom (Paññā) through which one becomes capable to evaluate the reality of life and death impartially,

Note and References

1. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (James Hastings) Vol. V, p. 414.
2. *Majjhima Nikāya* (Bombay University), Vol. II, Kandaraka Sutta, (51), pp. 5-7.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta (10), p. 77. *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta (9), p. 217.
4. *Dhammapada*, Verse No. 277.

5. *Ibid*, Verse No 278.
6. *Ibid*, Verse No. 279.
7. *Mahāvagga* (Nalanda), Vol. I, 17, p. 13
8. *Ibid*.
9. *Ibid*.
10. “Sabbe Bhāyanti maccuno —”, *Dhammapada*, Verse No. 129.
11. “Maccu eva maccu — maro ...” *Visuddhimagga* (Ed. D. Kosambi), Vol. II, 7.59, p. 62
12. (a) Parinibbātu idāni bhante bhagavā, parinibbātu sugato” *Dīgha Nikāya* (Nalanda), Vol. II, Mahāparinibbāna sutta (3), p. 84.
 (b) Catutthajjhāna vuṭṭhahitvā samanantara bhagavā parinibbāyī”. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
13. *Mahāvagga* (Nalanda), Vol. I, 1.1, p. 1.
14. *Majjhima Nikāya* (pt-I 95, p. 66.
15. (a) *Dīgha Nikāya Atthakathā*, Vol. III, 19, p. 114.
 (b) “Marāṇaniddeśe cavanaka vasena cuti. eka catu pañca kkhandhāya cutiyā sāmāñña vacanametam” *Vibhaṅga Atthakathā*, p. 102
16. “Dvādasakusalāṇevam kusalanekavīsati, Chattiṭṭseva vipākāni Kiriya Cittaṇi visati” *Abhihammatthasūṅgaho* (Rebatadhamma), Vol I, Ch I, 29, p. 35.
17. “Tattha dve upekkha – saḥagata – santrāṇāni ceva attha mahāvīpākāni ca nava rūparūpāni vipākāni ceti ekunavīsati cittaṇi patisandhu – cuti kiccam name”. *Abhi*. Vol. I, Ch III, 20, p. 232.
18. “Paccasanna maranassa tassa viṭṭicittavasane bhavangakkhaye va cavanavasena paccupannabhavapariyosana bhutam cuticitta – *Abhi*. Vol. II, Ch. V. 84, p. 599.
19. *Visuddhimagga* (Dwarikadas), Ch. VIII, 2 p. 188
20. *Milindapañha* (Dwarikadas) Ch. V. 3.6, p. 214.
21. *Samyutta Nikāya*, I. 120f
22. *Dhammapada* II 256f
23. *Dhammapada Atthakathā*. III. 78 – 84 ff.
24. *Ibid*. II 99ff
25. *Majjhima Nikāya*. III. 124f
26. *Dhammapada Atthakathā* III. 178f.
27. *Ibid* I 105ff.
28. *Ibid* I. 16
29. *Ibid* III 44f
30. *Abhi*, Ch V. 80. p. 146.
31. *Majjhima Nikāya* (Bombay University), Vol. II Karaṇḍaka Sutta (51), p. 5–7.

THE MAITRAKAS

— *Kanai Lal Hazra*

Towards the end of the fifth century A.B. (A. D. 498) Bhataraka,¹ a chief of the Maitraka clan of foreign origin, established himself at Valabhi in the east of the peninsula of Surāshtra (Kāthiawar), and founded a dynasty known as the Maitraka dynasty.² It ruled until about A. D. 778, when Arab invaders from Sind overthrew it.³ The earlier kings of Valabhi did not rule independently. They paid a tribute to the Huns. But after the decline of the Hun dominion, they declared their independence and became very powerful in the west of India "both on the mainland and in the peninsula of Surāshtra".⁴ Bhataraka's immediate successor was Dharasena I. Both of them had the title of Senāpati or general. Dharasena I was succeeded by Droṇasirīha, who was the second son of Bhataraka (A. D. 502-503).⁵ He took the title of mahārāja.

It is known from historical records that a branch of the Maitraka dynasty in the later half of the sixth century A. D. established itself in mo-la-po (Malavaka) or western Malwa.⁶ Its rulers conquered the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains.⁷ But another branch did not move anywhere. It continued to rule at Valabhi. Bhataraka's third son was Dhruvasena I.⁸ He succeeded his brother Droṇasirīha. The next ruler was Dharapada (or Dharapatta). He was the fourth son of Bhataraka. It is interesting to note here that "in all grants later than those of Dharasena II, the name of Guhasena immediately follows that of Bhataraka in the genealogy of the family, the names of the four intervening rulers Dharasena I, Droṇasirīha, Dhruvasena I and Dharapada (or Dharapatta) being altogether dropped".⁹ Two plates of Dhruvasena I were found. They record a gift by Dhruvasena I to a Brahmana residing in Anarttapura. They properly consist of some padavartas of land in the Sopokendraka-mandali. But this has not yet been identified.¹⁰ The Alina copper-plate inscription of Śilāditya VII of the year 447 (A. D. 766-767) was found in Alina, a village about 14 miles north-east of Nadiad, the chief town of the Nadiad Taluk or sub-division of the Kaira (Kheda) district in Gujarat.¹¹ It describes, "In unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of the god Maheśvara, the illustrious Bhataraka—who was possessed glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down their enemies; and who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and who had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straight forwardness and were attached (to him) by affection—".¹² It then mentions

that the next ruler was Guhasena, who was the most devout worshippers of (the god) Maheśvara.¹³

The grant of King Guhasena of Valabhi¹⁴ is important for a study of Buddhism in Valabhi. J. Buhler states, "It gives an important contribution towards the history of Buddhism in Valabhi. We find that the convent (monastery) founded by Duddā, the sister's daughter of Dhruvasena I, continued to flourish and to enjoy the protection of the rulers. The mention of the 18 Buddhist schools which were represented in Duddā's convent is also of importance because it confirms a statement made by Hiuen-Tsang. The latter says that (memorie, II, 162) in the hundred convents of Valabhi the Hīnayāna was chiefly studied. Now the 18 schools of our grant can only refer to the Hīnayāna, because this division of Buddhism is known to have been cultivated in that number of Nikāyas".¹⁵ Valabhi was an important centre of Hīnayāna studies. The grant¹⁶ describes, " (His son is) the devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious Mahārāja Guhasena, who proved his courage by splitting the temples of the rutting elephants of his enemies, the rays of whose footnails mingle with the glitter of the crest-jewels of his enemies who are prostrate before him in consequence of his power, who gives its proper significance to his title rājā (winner of hearts), since he won the hearts of his subjects by carefully keeping to the path prescribed in all the Smritis who in beauty surpasses cupid, in splendour the moon, in firmness the lord of mountains, in depth the ocean, in wisdom the preceptor of the gods, in richness the lord of wealth, who intent on affording safety to those seeking refuge with him, cares not a straw for his own interest,— who rejoices the hearts of the learned and of his affectionate friends by granting them more wealth than their prayers demand — who is as it were the incarnate delight of the whole world. (He) being in good health, addresses these commands, to all his servants and officials, heads of towns, heads of villages, fortune-tellers, soldiers, his faithful judges, police officers, princes and ministers representing the royalty and so forth, as well as to (all) others whatever their connection (with the government) may be :

Be it known unto you, that in order to obtain for my parents and for myself benefits in this life and the next according to my desires, I have granted, (confirming my gift) by pouring out water, to the community of the reverend Śākya monks, belonging to the 18 schools (of the Hīnayāna) who have come from various directions to the great convent of Dudda built by venerable Dudda and situated— in order to procure food, clothing, seats, remedies and medicines for the sick and so forth.*—the following four villages— Samapattavaraka, situated between Anumauji and Pappalarunkhari and Sengamanaka, in the township of Manoali as well as Naddiya and Chossari in Cetakajara with *— with *— with the revenue in dry and green (produce), corn and gold with the right to forced labour arising (therefrom) according to the analogy of the familiar instance of the grand and the cleft.

Wherefrom no construction should be made to him, who, by virtue of his belonging to the community of the reverend Śākya monks enjoys (these villages), tills (the land) or causes it to be tilled. And the future worthy kings of our race, understanding the instability of power, the frailty of humanity, and the benefits derived from gifts of land which are common (to all protecting them), should consent to and protect this our grant; and he who takes it or allows it to be taken away shall obtain the punishments of the five (kinds of) evil acts, and, living in the three (kinds of) existences, shall be guilty of the five mortal sins as well as of the minor sins.

(It has) also (been declared) : what good man would resume property which out of fear of poverty kings have given for pious purposes and which resembles leavings and vomited (food)?

Many kings as Sagara and others have enjoyed the earth. To him possesses the earth belongs the fruit thereof *—".

Another grant of Guhasena of Samvat 268 (A. D. 588) was found.¹⁷ In line 2 there is a reference to the illustrious king Guhasena who is called Paramopasaka, "Paramopasaka mahārājaśrī Guhasena", "the ardent devotee of the Buddha".¹⁸ This shows that this ruler actually accepted Buddhism as his religion and was converted to it. Because the first grant of Guhasena, mentioned above, called himself Paramamaheśvara. This clearly indicates that he was a devout worshipper of the Lord Maheśvara.

The donee of this grant was the community of foreign monks belonging to the 18 schools (of the Hīnayāna) and lived in the Abhyantarika Vihāra which was built by the venerable Mimma, who like the venerable Duddā, was a Buddhist nun.¹⁹ This monastery "was situated close to the monastery of Bhataraka presented to the Rājasthāniya Sura". This indicates that Bhataraka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi, already showed his great faith towards Buddhism. Though he was a devout follower of Śaivism, it is very probable that he allowed other religions to develop in his kingdom. "This Bhataraka vihāra must afterwards have been alienated from its original destination as the phrase "rajāsthāniyasurayaprasadikṛita" shows".²⁰ This grant says,²¹ "The object granted is Vatasthālikaprayiyabahumulagrame kutumbisiya maneragopakachhendavakadasakastrayah" "the income (aya) (to be paid) by the kanabi Syamanera, the herdsman Chandavaka and the Dasaka Astra in the village of Bahumula belonging to Vatasthālikapraya".

The grant also informs us that two officers were present when King Guhasena addressed his commands. They were^{22*}— the custom-house officers who collected the dues. The other officers was Rājasthāniya, "he who carried out the object of protecting subjects and sheltered them is called a Rājasthāniya or Viceroy".

Guhasena was succeeded by his son Dharasena II, the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.²³ Two plates of Dharasena II were found. They mention that the grant was issued by Dharasena II.²⁴ The beneficiary was some Buddhist monastery in Valabhi.²⁵ The property granted to the monastery was situated in the village Hariyanaka.²⁶ "The purpose for which the grant was issued is, as usual with Buddhist grants, to provide for the worship of the Buddhas, for the lodging, boarding etc. of the inmates of the monastery and for the repairs".²⁷ Another two plates of Dharasena II dated (Gupta) Śaṁvat 270 (A. D. 590) were discovered.²⁸ From them we learn that Dharasena II was the donor of the grant. He granted the village Uttapalaka situated near Sudattabhattachanaka in Surāshtra. "The grant is for the following three-fold purpose : (1) the worship of the image of the Buddha; (2) the hospitality (clothing, food and medicine) of the revered Bhikkhus; and (3) the repairs of the monastery".²⁹ Another grant of Dharasena II was found.³⁰ It informs us that the grantee was the "monastery called that of Śrī Bappapada". The Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati constructed it in Valabhi. "The purpose for which the two villages were granted is, as usual in the case of grants to Buddhist monasteries, to defray the cost of the worship of the Divine Buddhas, of clothing, food, and medicine, for the reverend Bhikkhus, and of the repairs of the monastery".³¹ Dharasena II granted two villages. They were : Maheśvaradasenaka in the aharani of Hastavpra and Devabhadripallika in the sthali of Dharakatha. According to scholars, Hastavpra or Hastakavapra was the modern Hathad. Maheśvaradasenaka was Mahādevapura which was situated in the south-west of Hathab.³²

Dharasena II was succeeded by his son Śīlāditya I who "acquired the second name Dharmāditya by the pursuit of wealth, happiness and riches illumined by conformity with religion".³³ The Alina Copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII of the year 447 (A. D. 767) refers to Śīlāditya I as the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.³⁴

A plate of a grant of Śīlāditya I alias Dharmāditya of (Gupta) Śaṁvat 286 (A.D. 606-607) was found in Valabhi.³⁵ From it we learn that the beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery situated in Varṁsakata. It is very probable that the property granted to the monastery was situated in the Kalapaka-pathaka. But nothing much is known from the grant about Buddhism in Valabhi. Because the description of the grant is lost. Two plates of a grant of Śīlāditya (alias Dharmāditya) of Śaṁvat 290 (A.D. 610) was found.³⁶ "This is a Buddhist grant and the beneficiary is the monastery built by the grantor king Śīlāditya (alias Dharmāditya) himself in the Svatala of Varṁsakata.*— The property granted to the Vihāra consisted of 2 villages, one of which named

Vyāghradinnanaka was situated in the Saraka (or Akaasaraka) district. The name of other village as well as of the district in which it was included is illegible*—³⁷ This grant gives us information that king Śīlāditya I himself built a Buddhist monastery near his palace. From it we draw a conclusion that king Śīlāditya I like Guhasena in later life embraced Buddhism and played a prominent role for its progress in his kingdom.

The Bhadreniyaka Grant of Śīlāditya I of Gupta era 292 (A. D. 610-611) was found.³⁸ The inscription “refers itself to the reign of king Śīlāditya I who was the son of the illustrious Dharasena, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasena, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshipper of Śiva”.³⁹ The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Devisaras. “According to this grant, two hundred padavarttas of land in the village of Bhadreniyaka in the Saravanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in the village. But of these two hundred padavarttas one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift owned by the Brahman Prabhandata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brahman named) Mudra, to the north of the dandaka (chain of hills?) called Baratika and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Goppara-vataka. Of the remaining hundred padavarttas the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece of land (lava) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (bhaikshaka) and now made over to the Sun-temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of worship and its other accessories, viz., bath, sandal, flowers, lamp-oil, vocal and instrumental music and dances, the cost of sacrifices and offerings, the maintenance of the servants of the god and the cost of repairing any damages”.⁴⁰ It is to be noted here that the places mentioned in the inscription have not yet been identified.

From Hiuen-tsang's account we learn that one Śīlāditya, who occupied the throne about 60 years before his visit to India, was a devout Buddhist. Buddhism prospered in the Malava region under the patronage of king Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya “who seems to have vied with Aśoka in his religieus”.⁴¹ He established several Buddhist monasteries and offered gifts to many Buddhist establishments. Probably, for the performance of his meritorious deeds he assumed the title of Dharmāditya. He erected a large temple and established seven images of the Buddha in it. This king Śīlāditya was in the habit of arranging annually a religious Assembly in which were invited monks and sages from all quarters and the king presented them the robes and other valuables. In this Religious Assembly Śīlāditya used to give precious and rare articles, garments and gold pieces to the monks and sages.⁴² He was so careful an observer of the doctrine of ahimsa as to supply strained water to his elephants and horses, and himself never killed even an ant. He constructed temporary residences on the largest and the grandest scale and made pious

gifts.⁴³ In the kingdom of Śīlāditya I was a small town called Brāhmaṇapura, so called because a proud Brāhmaṇa who had been defeated in debate by Bhikṣu Bodhiruci "a consummate logician and well-versed in the non-Buddhist Śāstras", went down alive into a pit in this day.⁴⁴ Several Maitraka rulers bore the epithet 'Śīlāditya' or 'Sun of Morality' and they were great patrons of Buddhism. According to several scholars, this Śīlāditya of the above account was the Maitraka king Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya of Valabhi, who ruled from A. D. 606 to 612.⁴⁵ Śīlāditya I bore the epithet 'Dharmāditya' 'the Sun of Righteousness'. One of his inscriptions refers to a grant to the Buddhist monastery of Varṣakata.⁴⁶

The next ruler was Kharagraha I, who was the younger brother of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya. The former was the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.⁴⁷ He was succeeded by his son Dharasena III. He was a devotee of the Lord Siva.⁴⁸ Dhruvasena II, who was his younger brother, succeeded him.⁴⁹ He was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara. The Alina copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII says : "his famous second name of Balāditya was established as one of the appropriated meaning, through the whole world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by his rising".⁵⁰ Dhruvasena II Balāditya or Dhruvabhata of Valabhi in the seventh century A.D. married the daughter of Harshavardhana of Kanauj.

The grant of Dhruvasena II of Sarnvat 310 (A.D. 630) was found.⁵¹ It was issued from Valabhi. The grantor Dhruvasena II called also Balāditya did not assume the title Mahārāja. "The grantee is the community of the reverend Bhikkhus dwelling in the monastery erected by Gohaka, which was included in the precincts of the monastery built by princess Dudda and situated in Valabhi proper. Dudda was Dhruvesena I's sister's daughter".⁵² The object of the record is to grant the village Bhasanta in Kalapakapatha in Surāshtra. Hiuen-tsang says that the country Surāshtra was "subject to the kingdom of Valabhi".⁵³

Dhruvesena II was a nephew of king Śīlāditya of Malwa. In about A.D. 639 he was a ruler of Valabhi.⁵⁴ He was a devout Buddhist. "He was a typical personality, hasty and impulsive by nature, heavy and dull in manners, but he respected virtue and promoted learning. Although he was "an Eternal Warrior" (Dhruvabhata), yet he was a devout Buddhist; deeply given to the tri-ratna; he convoked a great assembly annually and, for seven days entertained monks from all over the country and 'bestowed on them food of the best description, choice jewels, bedding and clothes, with varieties of medicaments and other things of different kinds' ".⁵⁵

The next ruler was Dharasena IV (A. D. 645-649), who was Dhruvasena II Balāditya's son. He had the titles of Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartti.⁵⁶ He was a devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.

The Alina copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII of the year 447 (A. D. 767) says : "of the son of the illustrious Śīlāditya I who was the (elder) brother of his father's father (Kharagraha I) and who was as it were the (god) Saṅgapani of the illustrious Darabhata *— the son was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena III."⁵⁷ The grant of Dhruvasena III was found.⁵⁸ It was issued by king Dhruvasena III. He assumed no royal titles. Only the religious epithet 'Paramamaheśvara' was used before his name. The beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery which was built by Duddā in Valabhi. For the maintenance of the inmates of the monastery a village named Rakṣasaka included in the Kasahrda was granted.⁵⁹

The next ruler was Kharagraha II who was Dhruvasena III's elder brother.⁶⁰ The Alina-copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII of the year 447 (A. D. 767) says : "His elder brother was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara, the illustrious Kharagraha II, who in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of Dharmāditya. He did his worship to the gods and Brahmins and spiritual preceptors".⁶¹

Śīlāditya II ascended the throne after Kharagraha II Dharmāditya. The next ruler was his son the glorious Śīlāditya III. He was a worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara. He assumed the titles Paramabhaddāraka, Mahārājadhīrāja and Parameśvara.⁶² A grant of Śīlāditya III of (Gupta) Saṁvat 343 (A. D. 663) was found in Wala (Kāthiāwār).⁶³ It refers to a grant to the Buddhist monastery of Vimalagupta. It says that the beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery constructed by the Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta of the village Kukkurānaka. It was situated inside the monastery of the Ācārya Bhikṣu Sthīramati. It seems that the village granted to the Vihāra was Sihanaka and was included in the Bavaśanakaśthali in Surāśtra. For the maintenance of the monastery and its inmates the village was granted by king Śīlāditya III. Another grant of Śīlāditya III was discovered.⁶⁴ It was issued by king Śīlāditya III, who is referred to as Parameśvara and had no royal titles. It describes that the beneficiary was some Buddhist monastery included in the monastery of the queen Duddā. Another grant of Śīlāditya III of Gupta Saṁvat 356 (A. D. 676) was discovered.⁶⁵ It was issued by Śīlāditya III and the grantee was the Buddhist monastery erected by the Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta of the village Kukkurānaka in the outskirts of the Duddā-vihāra in Valabhi. A village called kasaka in the province of Surāśtra was granted to the vihāra. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the worship of the Buddhas, and to meet the necessary expenses of the inmates of the monastery.

The Jesar Plates of Śīlāditya III of the year 347 (A. D. 667) was discovered at Jesar, a village in the Bhavanagar state of Kāthiāwār.⁶⁶ The object of these plates is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred padavartas of land in the village of kukkapadra in the pathaka of Kalaoaka of Surāśtra

to a Brahman with two names Saggala and Prakasa who was an inhabitant of Valabhi. The land granted consisted of three places of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three padavarttas. The boundaries of the second piece consisted of fifteen padavartta measures of land. The Jesar Plates of Śīlāditya III of Sarhvat 357 (A. D. 677) was found in the village of Jesar in the Bhavanagar state of Kāthiāwār.⁶⁷ "The object of the inscription is to record the grant of : (1) a reservoir of water extending over twenty-five padavarttas of land from the royal domain land in the Madasarasthali in the village of madasara in Surāshtra to a Brahmin who was a Dikshita and was the son of Sambadatta of the Vajaaneya-sakha of the Yajurveda and of the Kausika-gotra and who had emigrated from Pushyasambapura and (II) one hundred and four padavarttas of land, in five pieces, situated in the northern boundary (of the village)*—." ⁶⁸ Another grant of Śīlāditya III gives us indication about the existence Vaisnavism and Śaivism at Valabhi.⁶⁹

The next ruler was Śīlāditya IV.⁷⁰ He assumed the titles of Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājadhirāja and Parameśvara. He was a worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara. He was succeeded by his son Śīlādityadeva V, who was also a worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.⁷¹ He had the titles Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājadhirāja and Parameśvara. His son was Śīlāditya VI, who was known as the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.⁷² He assumed the titles of Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājadhirāja and Parmeśvara. Śīlādityadeva VII succeeded his father Śīlāditya VI.⁷³ He was a devotee of Maheśvara. He was known as Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājadhirāja and Paramamaheśvara. The Alina copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII of the year 447 (A. D. 767) was found in Alina, a village about 14 miles north-east of Nadiad of the Kaira district in Gujarat.⁷⁴ It informs us that Śīlāditya VII had the title of Dhruvabhata. The object of the inscription is to record the grant by Śīlāditya VII himself to a Brahman for the maintenance of the great sacrifices and other rites of the village of mahilabali in the Uppalahota pathaka in Khetaka (the modern Kheda or Kaira).⁷⁵ For the purpose of increasing the religious merit, the village named Mahilabali with the Udranga and the Uparikara and with the revenue of the bhuta and Vata to the Bhatta Akhandalamitra, the son of the Bhatta Viṣṇu who was an inhabitant of the town of Ānandapura, was granted by the king. Śīlāditya VII also played an important role for the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. He for the foundation of a library and for the ceremonies of the Buddha worship gave grant.⁷⁶

Hiuen-tsang visited Valabhi in the seventh century A. D. He says that "the city was a place of great wealth", and "was famous in the Buddhist Church History as having been the residence of two distinguished teachers Gunamati and Sthiramati, in the sixth century A. D."⁷⁷ He found in Valabhi about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Buddhist monks, but "they were out numbered by several hundreds of deva temples with followers of various

sects".⁷⁸ In Ānandapura there were ten monasteries but it had numerous heretical temples.⁷⁹ I-tsing mentions : "Another Buddhist centre of higher education in India which rivalled Nālandā in fame, was in the city of Valabhi or Valabhipura in Wala state of Kathiawar".⁸⁰ He also gives an account of Valabhi which occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism as an important centre of Buddhist studies. He describes further : "In his time Nālandā in South Bihar and Valabhi were the two places in India which deserve comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students, who commonly devoted two or three years to attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy".⁸¹ From the above facts V. A. Smith concludes : "This statement explains the assertion of Hiuen Tsang that Mo-la-p'o or western Mālava (Malwa) and Magadhā were the two countries of India in which learning was prized, because Valabhi and Mo-la-p'o were then politically one, both territories apparently being under the government of Dhruvabhata, the son-in-law of Harshavardhana, paramount sovereign of Northern India".⁸² Valabhi was regarded as one of the most famous centres of Buddhist learning and monastic life in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. From Hiuen-tsang, I-tsing and other epigraphic records we learn that Valabhi occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism in these centuries of the christian era. It was an important centre of the Sammitiya school. C. V. Vaidya says, "The extent of the dominion of Valabhi was not wide. It included, however, a great of Kathiawar and of Gujarat, Kaira district and some portions of western Malwa also, as is apparent from some of their grants. The smallness of the kingdom may explain to some extent why Valabhi fell so easily before the Arabs. Of course the immediate explanation is the treachery of Ranka. But we may also add a third explanation viz., the unwarlike character of the people and even the rulers which must have resulted from the wide spread of the Buddhist principles, chiefly the principle of Ahimsā of which Gujarat is even now the stronghold. Gujarat appears to have imbibed this principle during the rule of many kings including Śīlāditya of Mo-la-po described by Hiuen-Tsang".⁸³

Princess Duddā, the daughter of Dhruvasena I's sister, constructed the first building of the monastic college of Valabhi.⁸⁴ There were other buildings of this monastic establishment which were known as the Abhyantarikavihāra of venerable Mimma and the Bappapada vihāra of Bhadanta Sthiramati.⁸⁵ Acala, who was an Arhat also, built another monastic college not far from the city of Valabhi.⁸⁶ In the seventh century Dhruvabhata was the greatest patron of this University.⁸⁷ Just as Nālandā specialized in Mahāyāna studies so the University of Valabhi was the rival centre of Hīnayāna studies, for most of its scholars studied the Little Vehicle. Hiuen-tsang found about a hundred monastic buildings in Valabhi, the strength of the monk-students amounted to six thousand. Names of three most important scholars who had received

higher education in the University of Valabhi are known to us; they were Jayasena, a native of Surāshtra, Gubamati and Sthiramati; all these scholars subsequently lived in or around the Nālandā Mahāvihāra. Hwui-li says that the dominant system studied in Valabhi was that of the Sammitiya school of the Hīnayāna. From I-tsang's account we gather that Valabhi like Nālandā imparted higher education on secular subjects also. These were the two academics in India where eminent and accomplished men assembled in crowds, discussed possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, became famous in India *— 'To try the sharpness of their wit, they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their abilities; there they present their scheme and show their political talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government'. On being proved successful, they were advanced to high rank and could follow whatever profession they liked. Their famous names were written in white on their lofty gates. This account would indicate that these two Universities turned out not only Buddhist Doctors, but also statesman, administrators, and economists who received appointments in royal courts and governments".⁸⁸ From epigraphical evidence we learn that the Valabhi University maintained library which was financed by the royal wealth. The citizens of Valabhi also contributed largely to this university for the advancement of learning. The Kathāsarisāgara of Somadeva also refers to the great academic fame of Valabhi.⁸⁹ It is known that even the Brāhmaṇas of Gangetic plain used to send their sons to Valabhi for higher studies. Thus from the above accounts we learn that Valabhi as an important centre of Hīnayāna Buddhism flourished. Although the Maitraka rulers were followers of Maheśvara, yet Hīnayāna Buddhism prospered in Valabhi and its neighbouring regions under the patronage of some of its rulers.

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2. *Ibid* , p. 332; *Ibid.*, p. 629.
3. *Ibid* , p. 332.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 332.
5. *Political History of Ancient India*, H. C. Roychoudhuri, p. 629.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 629.
7. *Ibid* , p. 629.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 629-630, f.n. 4 : H. C. Roychoudhuri says, "Dharmasena II, king of Valabhi, left two sons, viz., Śīla-ditya II Dharmāditya and Kharagraha I. The account of Hsuen Tsang

seems to suggest that in his time (i.e., shortly after Śilāditya) the Maitraka dominions split up into two parts, one part including Mo-la-po and its dependencies probably obeying the line of Śīla-ditya-Dharmāditya, the other part, including Valabhi, obeying Kharagraha and his sons, one of whom Dhruvasena II, Balāditya or Dhruvabhata, who married the daughter of Harsha of Kanauj. The account of the Chinese pilgrim seems to receive confirmation from the Alina plate of Śīla-ditya VII (Fleiss, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, pp. 171 ff, 182n) which associates Dorabhata, the son of Śilāditya I Dharmāditya, with the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains. While the descendants of Kharagraha I are connected with Valabhi. The Navalakhi and Nogawa plates, however, suggest that occasionally the same ruler governed both Mālavaka and Valabhi. In the latter half of the Seventh century A. D. the line of Kharagraha I became extinct, and the Maitraka dominions were once more united *—."

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40. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
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42. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
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59. *Ibid.*, I, p. 35.
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61. *Ibid.*, III, p. 184.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

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AN UNIQUE ADAPTATION OF EROTIC-LOVE IN THE JĀTAKAS

— Asha Das

Scattered throughout the various Jātakas, there are innumerable Gāthās in which Śṛṅgārārāsa often appear in a highly finished and poetical garb. We reserve discussion on the Alambusā Jātaka and the Nalinikā Jātaka, because they present some extra ordinary features. These have been classed them as love-lyric. These two Jātakas are love-intrigues based on a secret illicit love. Both the plots are cast in the same mould. The hero of the Jātakas is R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, a young ascetic who never sees a woman in life, because he lives with his father in the Himālayān region. Therefore, he is a pretty victim of the opposite pulls of longing and bashfulness. The ascetic tradition, however, opposed this. Woman is accepted as the svairiṇī, not as soul-mate in these Jātakas. It is also not a picture of lawful love, but unwedded love as opposed to devoted love.

In the Alambusā Jātaka (523) the incident runs thus— R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, a young ascetic by his great holiness excites Śakra, the king of Devas and he orders Alambusā, the heavenly nymph to seduce him,

tvam eva gaccha kalyāṇi,
itthīnaṃ pavarā c'asi,
tam eva vaṇṇarūpena
vasam ānāmayissasīti.

(Jātaka ed. Fausboll Vol. V, p 154)

Tr. Then queen of woman as thou art, go,
lovely nymph, thy way
And by the power of beauty force the saint
to own thy sway.

(Jātaka, tr. Cowell, Vol. V, p 80)

At the break of the day, the heavenly nymph draws nigh to him. The ascetic questions her identity and describes her beauty. Here Alambusā is the symbol of beauty and she is supposed to have arisen, like as morning star of the sky. In the verses uttered by the ascetic, we have the romantic mood is gaining momentum as the narration proceeds. It is also the best specimen of Pali amorus writing. The verses run thus,

Kā hu vijju-r-ivābhāsi osadhī viya tārakā.
vicitrahathābharaṇā āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā.

'twere charged, from far is seen.
 Twin milky breasts, like pumpkins
 halved, their swelling globes display,
 Firm set, although without a stalk
 all unsupported they.
 Thy lips are red as thy tongue,
 and, O auspicious sign,
 Thy neck long as the antelope's
 is marked with triple line.
 Thy teeth brushed with a piece of wood,
 kept ever clean and bright,
 Gleam in thy top and lower jaw
 with flash of purest white.
 Thy eyes are long and large of shape,
 a lovely sight to view,
 Like guñjā berries black, marked out
 with lines of reddish hue.
 Thy tresses smooth, not over long
 and bound in neatest coil,
 Are tipped with gold and perfumed
 with the finest sandal oil.
 (Jātaka, Ibid, p 81)

Thus the young ascetic praises her from her feet and hand to the hair of her head. Occasional elaboration, multiplying epithet, similes and imagery here reveal the influence of lyric style.

Alambusā with all her cunning of a woman's wile brings the ascetic under her control. After a temporary lapse, the ascetic recovers his saintly glory. But when the blow falls and she must leave the Āśrama, she has gone, so deep in love that she can feel R̥ṣyaśrīṅga's pain more acutely than her own. When the king of Devas was ready to give her boon, she utters,

Varañ ce me ado sakka sabbabhūtānam issara
 na isipalobhiyam gacche, etaṃ Sakka varaṃ vare ti
 (Jātaka, Ibid, p 161).

Tr. If Sakka, lord of sprites, thou wouldst my
 heart's desire allow,
 Let me ne'er tempt a saint again to
 violate his vow.
 (Jātaka, Ibid, p 84)

It is in fourteen short words. But these words in the verse are memorable, not for erotic love, but for immortal love.

The Nalinikā Jātaka (526) is also closely allied to the Alambusā Jātaka in having a delusion and erotic character. Here structural conditions of feminine beauty have found a place of importance. There is little resonance of deep feeling, much of it remains acceptable through the graciousness of the fancy, the pictorial evocation and women's wile. The frame-story tells us that Śakra, the king of Devas, jealous on a young ascetic creates draught and declares that the draught from which the land is suffering is due to severe austerity and meditation of the ascetic. Only Nalinikā, the beautiful daughter of the king can overcome his virtues to save the country. Nalinikā visits him, disguised as an ascetic boy. But pretty is the confusion of the young ascetic when he meets Nalinikā. She speaks falsely, but he believes her and thinks the new-comer is an ascetic boy and greets her kindly. The ascetic is an ingenuous and frank young man and never has been seen a woman before. Therefore, he is lead to believe her false story. The poignancy of young love has been captured with power in the description of their union. Days of happy union follow. Ultimately, his virtue is overcome and his meditation broken-off. Nalinikā leaves the hermitage and goodbye the young man who is wishfully looking after her. In the evening his father returns and tragic irony, of which the Jātaka makes the most poignant use, begins to raise its head here. The son now relates his romantic tale — how he met one ascetic, loved and was loved, but the ascetic perished. Flowery is the tribute of him to Nalinikā's beauty,

Idhāgamā jaṭilo branhmacārī
sudassaneyyo sutanū vineti
n' evātidīgho na punātirasso
sukaṇḥakaṇḥacchadanehi bhoto.
Amassu jāto apurāṇavaṇṇī,
ādhārārūpaṇi ca paṇ'assa kaṇṭhe
dv'assa gaṇḍā ure sujātā
sovaṇṇapaṇḍupani bhā pabhassarā
Mukhaṇi ca tassa bhusadassaneyyaṇi
kaṇṇesu lambanti ca kuṇḍitaḡḡā,
te jotare carato māṇavassa
suttaṇi ca yaṇi saṇi yamaṇi jaṭāṇi .
Aññā ca tassa saṇi ṇamaṇi catasso
nīlāpi tā lohitakā ca satā,
tā piṇṇasare carato māṇavassa,
ciraṇi saṇi ghā-r-iva pāvusaṇi .
* * * * *
Dantā ca tassa bhusadassaneyyā
suddhā samā saṇi khavarūpapaṇṇā

mano pasāḍenti vivriyamānā,
na ha nūna so sākam akhādi tehi
Akakkasaṃ agalitaṃ muhuṃ muduṃ
(uḷuṃ) anuddhataṃ acapalam assa bhāsitam,
ruduṃ manuññaṃ karvīkasussaram

(Jataka, Ibid, pp. 202-204)

Tr. Here, Sire, to-day a holy youth has been,
A handsome, dapper boy, of winsome mien :
Not ever tall nor yet too short was he,
Dark was his hair, as black as black could be.
Smooth-checked and beardless was this stripling wight,
And on his neck was hung a jewel bright,
Two lovely swellings on his fair breast lay,
Like balls of burnished gold, of purest ray.
His face was wonderous fair, and from each ear
A curved ring depending did appear;
These and the fillet on his head gave out
Flashes of light, whene'er he moved about.
Yet other ornaments the youth did wear,
Or blue or red, upon his dress and hair
Jingling, whene'er he moved, they rang again
Like little birds that chirp in time of rain.

* * * * *

His teeth in even rows, so pure and white,
Vie with the choicest pearls, a lovely sight;
Whene'er he opens his lips, how charming 'its!
No food like ours, roots and vile potherbs, his!
His voice so soft and smooth, yet firm and clear
In gentle accents fell upon the ear,
It pierced me to the heart : so sweet a note
Ne'er issued from melodious Cuckoo's throat.

(Jātaka, Tr. Cowell, Vol. V, pp. 104-105)

Here the literary skill is undeniable. But one remarkable feature is that, sexual desire, as distinguished from romanticised yearning, is expressed with naked power in this Jātaka. Therefore, it is a picture, one of the most powerful ever painted, of the whole sexual nature in eroticism. But there is ornamented poetic cloak around sex. It is a new addition in the Pali literature. Secondly, it is surprising that the writer is keenly sensitive to the beauty of the feminine form. There is also a fine portrait of the love-sick young ascetic who says his father,

Addhā pajānāsi tuvaṃ pi tāta.
Yassaṃ disāyaṃ vasate brahmacārī,
taṃ taṃ disaṃ pāpaya tāta khippaṃ
mā te ahaṃ amariṃ assamaṃhi.

(Jātaka, Ibid, p 205)

Tr. Tell me, dear father, for thou know'st it well,
Where in the world this holy youth may dwell,
And thither with all speed, pray, let us fly,
Or at thy door my death will surely lie.

(Jātaka, Ibid, p 106)

The ascetic does not know that he is also betrayed in love by his lady-love. The heroine, we learn from the Jātaka, is an abhisārikā. The love of abhisārikā or those women who themselves come to the men that is, of unrestrained movements of women are shocking to the social rules and cultivated taste. In the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana also we find that the houses of the nāgaras were visited by the abhisārikās. But there is no instance wherein any respectable girl has been depicted as playing the part of an abhisārikā as we get in the Nalinikā Jātaka. The erotic sequences in the Nalinikā Jātaka is presented as Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra versified and Nalinikā herself represents superb mastery of this discipline. Here male stands for stupidity and unornateness and female for provocation and prurience.

Most probably it was a courtly story, framed by the favourite poet of a king who himself turned out some sensuous poetry based on illicit love. The writers of Alaṃkāra Śāstra tell us that wherever illicit love is described and however beautifully may it be done, it must be taken as Rasābhāsa on resemblance of amorous sentiment and not real rasa or real aesthetic sentiment. In this Jātaka the literary skill is undeniable, but we get the Rasābhāsa in every syllable uttered by the princess Nalinikā. Later on, the story is used as the extreme sequence of woman's wile on the Bhikkhus. Ultimately, the Nalinikā Jātaka with its panorama of biogenetic affairs stands an unique adaptation in the Pali literature.

Tragic irony and fire of love, of which the Ummadantī Jātaka, (527) makes the most poignant use, is a well knit love-story as we get it in the Sanskrit literature. The story, very briefly, is this – Ummadantī is a young and lovely girl, when she is sixteen years of age, she is as beautiful as a heavenly nymph. She is now a queen of beauty and of love, the distributor of favours, the inspiration of all royal virtues. All men who behold her can not contain themselves, but are intoxicated with passion. Her father Tirītavacca says to the king — 'Mahārāj, I have a treasure of a daughter who is a fit mate for a king

in all respect.' The king send brahmins who are the fortune-tellers and can read the lineaments of the body. But when Ummadantī comes to their presence they completely loss their self control, they are intoxicated with passion. Even they forget themselves. She sees them and orders her attendents to be taken by the scarf of their neck and thrust out. The brahmins are sorely annoyed and returned to the palace. They report the king – 'Sir, this woman is no mate for you, she is a witch'. The king does not sent for her and her father gives her in marriage to Ahipāraka, the minister of the king. Ultimately, Ummadantī becomes her husband's darling but to him she is only a wife and mere a woman and she conceives a grudge against the king. There are two fountains here, one sweet, the other bitter.

On the full moon day, the Kattika festival is declared. One day Ahipāraka says his wife – 'The king, in marching procession round the city, will first of all come to my door. You do not show yourself to him, for on seeing you he will not be able to control himself.' She replies – 'I will see to it.' At sun set, full moon rises, the candles are blazing in every quarter of the city. The procession headed by the king comes first of all to the door of Ahipāraka which is fully decorated and well furnished. But a tragic shock is awaiting him at the begining of the journey. By then the game is played out. Ummadantī standing near the window, throws the flowers over the king with all the charm of a nymph. Tragic irony begins to raise its head here. The king looks her and is maddened with passion. He is quite unable to control his thoughts. Bitter truth is now no longer avoidable. The change is marked by the words,

Nivesanaṃ kassa nu 'daṃ Sunanda
pākārena paṇḍumayena guttaṃ,
kā dissati aggisikhā va dūre
vehāsayam pabbatagge va acci.
Dhītā n' ayam kassa Sunanda hoti,
sunisā n' ayam kassa atho pi bhariyā,
akkāhi me khippam id' eva puṭṭo:
avāvaṭā, yadivā atthi bhattāti.

(Fousboll, Jātaka, Vol. V. p 213)

Tr. whose house is this, Sunanda, tell me true,
All girt about with wall of golden hue?
What vision fair is this, like meteor bright.
Or sunbeam striking on some mountain height?
A daughter of the house perchance is she,
Herself its mistress, or son's wife may be?
Your answer quickly in a single word –
Is she unwed or owns she still a lord?

(Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. V., p. 110)

Sunanda relates that she is the wife of Ahipāraka, the most faithful minister of the king and her name is Ummadantī. The king discovers a powerful attraction for her within him. The passage ends with the grave lines,

Ambho ambho nāmaṃ idaṃ imissā
matyā ca petyā ca kataṃ susādhū,
tathā hi mayhaṃ apalokayantī
ummattakaṃ Ummadantī akāsīti.

(Fousboll, Jātaka, Vol. V. p 214)

Tr. Alas how ominous a name is here
Given to his maiden by her parents dear;
Since Ummadantī fixed her gaze on me,
Lo! a mad haunted man I grew to be.
(Cowell, Ibid, p 110).

A fusion of erotic sentiments is extravagant in the description in portraying the frustrated king. He feels completely upset. In the poignancy of his grief the king is chattering upon the royal couch and utters,

Sā puṇṇamāse migamandalocanā
upāvisī puṇḍarīkattacaṇḍī,
dve puṇṇamāyo tadahū ammaññaṃ
disvāna pārāpatarattavāsiniṃ
Aḷārapamhehi subhehi vagguhi
palobhayantī maṃ yada udikkhati
vijambhamānā harat' eva me mano
jātā vane kimpurīsa pabbate.
Tadā hi brahatī sāmā āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā
ekaccavasanā nārī migī bhantā v' udikkhati.
kadāssu maṃ tambanakhā sulomā
bāhāmudu candanasāralittā
vaṭṭaṅgulī sannatavīrakuttiyā
nārī upaṇṇissati sīsato subhā.
kadāssu maṃ kañcanāmāluracchadā
dhītā Tīrīṭassa vilākamajjhā
mudūhi bāhāhi palissajissati
brahāvane jātadumaṃ va maluvā.
kadāssu lākhārasarattasucchavī
bindutthanī puṇḍarīkattacaṇḍī
mukhaṃ mukhena upanāmayissati
soṇḍo va soṇḍassa surāya thālaṃ

(Fousboll, Jātaka, Vol. V. p. 215)

Tr. A lily maid, with eyes soft as a doe's.
 In the full moon's clear light before me rose,
 Beholding her in robe of dove-like hue,
 Methought two moons at once came into view.
 Darting one glance from her bright, lovely-eyes,
 The temptress took me captive by surprise,
 Like woodland elf upon some mountain height,
 Her graceful motion won my heart at night.
 So dark and tall and fair the maid, with jewels in her ears,
 Clad in a single garment, like a timid doe, appears.
 With long-tressed hair and nails all stained red,
 O'er her soft arms rich sandal essence shed,
 With tapering fingers and a gracious air,
 When will she smile on me, my charmer fair?
 When will Tīrīṭi's slender-waisted maid,
 A gold adornment on her breast displayed,
 With her soft arms embracing cling to me,
 E'en as a creeper to some forest tree?
 When will she stained with dye of lac so bright,
 With swelling bosom, maiden lily-white,
 Exchange a kiss with me, as oft a glass,
 Will from one toper to another pass?
 (Cowell, Ibid, p 110-111).

The ground tone of this long lamentation is frustration. His fire of love for his lady-love has an unexpected consequence. He is encouraged in his endeavour by the knowledge that he has no reason and he is no longer master of himself. He utters,

Sakka ca me varam dajjā, so ca labbhettha me varo :
 ekarattim dirattim vā bhavēyyaṃ Ahipārako
 Ummadantī ramitvāna, Sivrājā tato siyā ti.
 (Fousboll, Ibid, p 216)

Tr. Should Sakka grant a boon to me, my choice were quickly ta'en
 I would be Ahipāraka one night or haply twain,
 And Ummadantī thus enjoyed, he might o'er Sivi reign.
 (Cowell, Ibid, p 111)

An universal human longing is expressed here. It is a longing of a man for a woman. In all these there is undoubted poetry, but it is a poetry for more nervous and masculine – a drier flavour and a wine with more body. The king fancies that,

due puṇṇamāyo tadahū amaññaṃ

Two moons at once come into his view – one in the sky and another in the window. Here the super excellent charm of Ummadantī, who is standing near the window with flower is greater than the real moon in the sky. It is the novelty of this metaphor that strikes us most. A good number of beautiful adjectives, similes and allegory have been drawn for the heroine which must be highly appreciated by the critics. For instance,

migamandalocanā, puṇḍarikattacaṅgī,
pārāpatarattavāsiniṃ, sāmā, etc.

Here eyes are soft as a deer, complexion as gold as lotus and she is clothed with dove like hue.

Ahipāraka is a lover and a doctor in love's law, a true friend of the king and not a man of sentiment. He sacrifices his wife to the king. He is perfectly serious when he expounds the commandments of king. But the thing is delicate. The king sees the fatal discrepancy between the commandments of love and the commandments of a king. He becomes uneasy about the part he is playing. Now he is fully awakened and acknowledged that he has no need of Ummadantī. Ummadanti is the symbol of prime desire which makes man thirst for beauty and create beauty. The aching desire of the king for the supreme beauty which makes him vaguely restless, is clothed by the writer of the Jātaka in the thinnest veil of the love story. The Ummadantī Jātaka has thus done a good job in preparing a full-fledged adaptation of erotic-love.

In this Jātaka the heroine possesses some characteristics as she is a girl possessed of excellent physical beauty, she has proper and lucky shaped teeth, nail, ears, hair, eyes and breasts. She takes the greatest care with her toilet, so her appearance is tidy and fresh, sweet and charming. She puts on many ornaments and garlands of various flowers. She uses perfumes to make herself attractive, her voice is not only soft and smooth but firm and clear, her hands are white as cotton, round and soft to touch. She is slim and possesses some auspicious sing on different limbs of her body. All these sings are common with that of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasāstra.

A NOTE ON THE CHABBAGGIYA BHIKKHUNĪS IN THE VINAYA-CULLAVAGGA.

— *Bela Bhattacharya*

The chabbaggiya bhikkhus and the chabbaggiyā bhikkhūṇīs figure prominently in the Vinayapiṭaka texts. They are held responsible for committing all sorts of nefarious un-Vinayic activities and creating trouble and disorder in the proper discharge of saṅgha Kammās.

The 'Chabbaggiya' literally means 'the set of six' a well known term for the six chief bhikkhus viz., Assaji, Punabbasu, paṇḍuka, Lohitaka, Mettiya and Bhumajaka. We get ample reference to them in the Vinaya Mahāvagga, Majjhima nikāya, Jātakatthavaṇṇanā, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Samantapāsādikā etc. The chabbaggiya monks associated themselves together in all mischievous artifices. They were a set of bhikkhus always accustomed to commit unvinayic rules. We may also mention in this connection that in the early Theravāda literature, there were certain bands of monks like pañcabbaggiya, Sattarabaggiya, Chabbaggiya etc.¹

Besides the Chabbaggiya bhikkhus, there is also mention of a band of six nuns (Chabbaggiyā bhikkhūṇīs) in the Vinaya Cullavagga. They occupy notorious position in the Vinaya Laws. Their prominence in the Laws of Vinaya is very mysterious. There are a few references scattered in the Cullavagga to the evil activities committed by them. These may be stated thus:

a) Showing of obscene parts of the body

tena kho pana samayena Chabbaggiyā bhikkhunio kāyaṃ vivaritvā bhikkhunam dassenti thanaṃ vivaritvā bhikkhunam dassenti ūraṃ vivaritvā bhikkhunam dassenti aṅgajātaṃ vivaritvā bhikkhunam dassenti bhikkhu obhāsanti bhikkhūṇī Saddhiṃ sampayojenti app eva nāma ambesu sārājeyyunti. Vinaya Piṭakaṃ

Herman Oldenverg Vol.— II, Page – 262-263.

Now at that time the group of six nuns, having uncovered their bodies their breasts their thighs their private parts, showed them to monks. This offence falls under the āpatti dukkaṭa.

The Book of the Discipline – I. B. Horner.

Vol.— V, Page 364.

FN. 1 Some critical observations on the Chabbaggiya bhikkhu – Dr. S. C. Sarkar, page 1

b) Use of facial ointments

tena kho pana samayena chabbaggiyā bhikkhuṇīyo mukhaṃ ālimpanti mukhaṃummaddenti mukhaṃ cuṇṇenti

manosilikāya mukhaṃlañchenti añgarāgaṃ karonti mukharāgaṃ karonti añgarāgamukharāgaṃ Karonti.

Ibid, Page – 266

Now at that time the group of six nuns smeared their faces, rubbed their faces (with ointment), painted their faces with chuṇṇaṃ, marked their faces with red arsenic painted their bodies, painted their faces, painted their bodies and faces. This offence is āpatti dukkaṭassa.

Ibid, Page 369.

c) Use of cīvaras of different colours

tena kho pana samayena chabbaggiyā bhikkhuṇīyo

sabbanilakāni civarāni dhārenti sabbapītakāni civarāni dhārenti sabbalohitakāni c. dh. sabbamañjeṭṭhākāni c. dh. sabbakaṇṭrāni c. dh. sabbamahā rañgarattāni c. dh. sabbamahānāmarattāni c. dh. acchinnadasāni c. dh. dī ghadasāni c. dh. pupphadasāni c. dh. phaṇa dasāni c. dh. Kañcukaṃdhārenti tiriṭakaṃdhārenti.

Ibid. Page – 267.

Now at that time group of six nuns wore robes that were all dark green, they wore robes that were all yellow, they wore robes that were all red, they wore robes that were all crimson, they wore robes that were all black, they wore robes that were dyed all brownish yellow, they wore robes that were dyed all reddish-yellow, they wore robes with borders that were not cut up, they wore robes with long borders, they wore robes with borders of flowers, they wore robes with borders of snakes' hood, they wear jackets, they wear (garments made of) the Tīrita tree. This type of offence is āpatti dukkaṭa.

Ibid, Page – 370.

d) Showing the bases of bowls turned upside

tena kho pana samayena chabbaggiyā bhikkhuṇīyo bhikkhuṃ passitvā parivattetvā pattamūlaṃ dassenti.

Ibid, Page – 269.

Now at that time the group of six nuns, having seen a monk, having turned (their bowls) upside down, showed the bases of the bowls. This is also āpatti dukkaṭassa.

Ibid, Page – 372.

e) Wearing of hip – belt

tena kho pana samayena chabbaggiyā bhikkhuṇīyo sabbakālaṃ Kaṭisuttakaṃ dhārenti, manussā ujjhāyantigihikāmbhoginiyo ti.

Ibid, Page – 271.

Now at that time the group of six nuns wore a hip-string the whole time. People spread it about, saying : “Like women house holders who enjoy pleasures of the senses”. This offence falls under āpatti dukkaṭassa.

Ibid, Page – 374.

f) Use of bullock-carts

tena kho pana samayena chabbaggiyā bhikkhuṇīyo yānena yāyanti itthiyuttana pi purisantarena purisayuttana pi itthantarena.

Ibid, Page – 276.

Now at that time the group of six nuns went in a vehicle, both in one that had a cow in the middle yoked with bulls.

Ibid, Page – 382.

g) Use of privy forbidden

tena kho pana samayena bhikkhuṇīyo Vacca kuṭiyā Vaccaṃ Karonti, chhabaggiyā bhikkhuṇīyo tatth’eva gabbhaṃ patenti bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ, na bhikkhave bhikkhuṇīyo vaccakuṭiyā vacco kātabbo.

Ibid, Page – 280.

Now at that time nuns relieved themselves in a privy, the group of six nuns caused abortion there. They told this matter to the Lord. He said : “Monks, nuns should not do so there is a offence of wrong doing”. This is also āpatti dukkaṭassa.

Ibid, Page – 387.

h) Attempt to put venerable Kappitaka to death Venerable Kappitaka, the preceptor of Upāli was staying in a Vihāra. At that time an old nun who was a Chief of the chabbaggiyā bhikkhuṇī group (Mahatarā bhikkhuṇī) died; so the other chabbaggiyā nuns made a tomb (Thūpa) over her cremation ground, just beside Kappitaka’s Vihāra. Every day the bhikkhuṇīs used to gather on the spot of the tomb weeping and wailing loudly for the dead nun. Such meetings of the nuns disturbed Kappitaka living in the Vihāra. One day, out of such disturbance and vexation broke the tomb built on the cremation spot of the dead bhikkhuṇī, when the nuns came to learn of the fact they decided to kill him. Being enraged they began to throw stone chips on the Vihāra’s structure, so that Kappitaka might be put to death. Meanwhile Upāli came to

know of their mischievous performance so he warned his preceptor Kappitaka who lay in hiding but the naughty bhikkhuṇīs after battering Kappitaka's dwelling with stones and clods of earth (Pāsāṇehi ca leḍḍūhi ca Ottharāpetvā) departed from the place thinking that he was dead but next morning when they saw him alive began to abuse him with ill-words. This nefarious acts of the bhikkhuṇīs led to the framing of the Pācittiya rule (No.— 52)

(Ya pana bhikkhuṇī bhikkhuṃ akkoseyya vā Paribhāsey ya vā Pācittiyan ti): It may be noted in this context that unlike the chabbaggiya bhikkhus who are mentioned in different Pali texts, these group of six nuns are only mentioned in the Cullavagga.

Now it is very striking as we learn from the Cullavagga that two types of punishment – Dukkaṭṭā and Nissaggiyā Pācittiya were inflicted on these Bhikkhuṇīs by Lord Buddha. These are not serious offences. But here Kappitaka's case might have been treated as a Pārājikā offence because these bhikkhuṇīs proceeded to kill Kappitaka by throwing stones on his Vihāra used as his residence on crematory. So the question arises as to why Lord Buddha did not think of inflicting severe punishment befitting Pārājikā on them. On the other hand a light punishment like Pācittiya was enjoined and they were set free.¹

F.N 1 Bhikkhuṇī Vibhaṅga – Vinaya Piṭaka
P T. S. Vol – IV, Page – 308-309

TAṆHĀ – AS A BASIC CONCEPT IN THE PAṬICCASAMUPPĀDANĀYA

— Mani Kuntala Haldar (De)

Lord Buddha's simple religious teachings contain deep within great fundamental truths which deserve subtle psychological analysis. In fact, Buddha's philosophical knowledge knew no bounds and *Paṭiccasamuppādanāya* is one such product, emanating from his deep philosophical deduction.

After attaining Buddhahood Lord Tathāgata went to Sārnāth in Benaras and at a place named Mīgadāva he delivered his first sermons to five (*pañcavaggiya*) Bhikkhus. These sermons subsequently came to be known as "*Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta*",¹ wherein Lord Buddha has discussed four deep philosophical thesis which are called '*Cattāri Ariyasaccāni*'. These are enumerated in the dictum *dukkha, dukkhasamudaya, dukkhanirodha* and *dukkhanirodhagāminī-ariya-aṭṭhangikamagga*; which taken together means life is painful, worldly happiness is ephemeral, everything worldly inflicts pain. In the words of Buddha – "*Sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā, sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā, sabbe saṅkhārā anattā*" – i.e. all creations are transient and fleeting, shortlived, nothing tends to happiness. Repeated rebirths are painful indeed. Cessation from rebirths ends all miseries.

In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*² of *Dīghanikāya* Lord Buddha says – "lack of proper knowledge and realisation of fourfold "*ariyasaccāni*" have made myself and you too, to traverse from births to births (*catunnaṃ bhikkhave ariyasaccānaṃ ananubodhā appativedā evamidaṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ sandhā vitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañceva tumhākañca*). Again, after attaining the 'Knowledge of Truth' (*Bodhiñāṇa*), Buddha uttered the liberal message—

*"Anekajāti saṃsāraṃ sandhāvissaṃ anibbissaṃ
gahakārakaṃ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ
gahakāraka, diṭṭhosi puna gehaṃ na kāhasi
Sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā, gahakūṭaṃ visaṅkhiṭaṃ
Visaṅkhāragataṃ cittaṃ taṇhānaṃ khayaṃ ajjhagā"*³—

"I have travelled births after births in this world in search of the builder of this 'body-house' but none have I found. It is miserable to be born and be reborn in this world again and again. Oh, the builder! this time I have found you out. You will not be able to build the house again ; your materials for building the house are destroyed. My mind has become free from worldly bondage and my hankering (*taṇhā*) is eroded". Therefore, in order to attain

wisdom and the knowledge of the ultimate, it is necessary to acquire a true realisation of the 'Cattāri Ariyasaccāni' first. Then by finding out and removing the root-cause of the origination of sorrow, it is possible that the sorrow itself can be annihilated.

It may be stated that among the Four Noble Truths, the second *Ariyasacca*

is the *Paṭiccasamuppāda*⁴ (Law of causation) of Buddhist philosophy. In Buddhism, there are two ways of determining a causal relation between things— mental and material. One is called *Paṭiccasamuppādanaya* or theory of Causation and the other *paṭṭhānanaya* or theory of relateness. The former *Paṭiccasamuppāda* advocates – “*Imasmim sati idam hoti, imasmim na sati, idam na hoti*,⁵ which means –” this being so, that is, this not being so that is not”. It exhorts that a cause results in effect, when there is no cause there is not effect. Suppose, because of A originates B, because of B originates C. When there is no A, there will be no B, when there is no B, there will be no C. Thus cause and effect in twelve links follow in successive chain. This is what is precisely called *Paṭiccasamuppādanaya*.

The *Paṭiccasamuppāda* is, in fact, known in different names, e.g., *Nidāna* doctrine which means genesis of causes, also called *idappaccayatā*, i.e. law of this-conditioned nature. Apart from this it is also referred as *Ariya-ñāya* (the noble method or system). In *Abhidhamma* literature it has been called *paccayākāra* (related condition). In *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* of *Dīghanikāya* we find the reference of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*, interestingly instead of twelve causal links only ten has been mentioned there. In *Visuddhimaggā*⁶ and in *Vibhaṅga*⁷ this same theory has been propounded in details although presented in different names. The twelve terms of causal links or *Paṭiccasamuppāda* runs like this – *avijjā* (ignorance), *saṃkhārā* (interpretations), *viññāṇa* (clear consciousness), *nāmarūpaṃ* (name and form), *saḷāyatana* (the six organs of sense), *phassa* (contact), *vedanā* (feeling), *taṇhā* (desire), *upādāna* (attachment), *bhava* (continued existence), *jāti* (birth) and *jarāmaranaṃ sokaparideva dukkhadomanassa* (decay, death, grief, lamentation and sorrow). Every matter for its origin depends on causes in total, on the other hand while the matter does not originate automatically or by itself, it naturally lacks any viable entity, hence it ceases to remain as the source of any kind of mundane sorrow. In Buddhaghosa's opinion, in causal chain *avijjā* i.e. ignorance appears first and it constitutes the principal cause of sorrow while *taṇhā* forms a very important cause in the list which follows. In Buddha's opinion, all sorts of human miseries emanate from hankering or *taṇhā*. In fact, satisfaction of one's own individual aspiration, lust or intense desire appear to be most remarkable characteristic of the human society. Lord Buddha as also his life and teachings mainly stresses on subjugation of *taṇhā* to enable the human being to realise the futility of this elusive chase.

In Pāli Buddhist literature *taṇhā* or desire has been divided into six forms like *rūpa-taṇhā*, *sadda-taṇhā*, *gandha-taṇhā*, *rasa-taṇhā*, *phoṭṭhabba-taṇhā* and *dhamma-taṇhā*, although three different divisions like *kāma*, *bhava* and *vibhava* can be found. In Buddhist interpretation, *kāma-taṇhā* or sensuous desire emanates from taste for the objects *rūpa*, *sadda* etc. While *bhavataṇhā* helps to create a belief that the world is eternally existing (*sassata*), thus producing an attachment for future existence and *vibhava-taṇhā* gives prominence to hedonistic pleasure, since under the influence of this *taṇhā* an individual is not prone to believe in after-life and being regardless of any consequence of the activities of this life indulges in pleasure seeking. Remarkably among the Four Noble Truths which received extraordinary prominence in Buddhist Teachings the second one in succession refers to sorrows and miseries originating from *taṇhā*. In fact, individual's sensual desire or attachment goad him to the cycle of rebirth and it must be kept in mind that those sensual desires never do disappear with the physical annihilation rather they find an endless life in human psyche. Actually, satiation of desire helps to create more desires thus throwing a person in the abysmal pit of misery, frustration and sorrow. Lord Buddha had been quite able to identify *taṇhā* as the root of all evils. Therefore, in *Paṭiccasamuppāda* he gave it prominence and asked the human beings to get rid of *taṇhā* or desire to avert the worldly miseries.

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4. Pati (towards) i (moving, approaching) sam+ud+pad ; therefore, 'paticca' here means 'reaching' in the sense of 'dependent' or 'relative' and the word 'samuppāda' means 'appearance' 'manifestation'
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HÖNEN- A GREAT AMIDA SAINT IN JAPAN

— KSHANIKA SAHA

Amida or Amitabha is wellknown as a benevolent deity in Japan. The worship of this deity is summed up in the names of its seven patriarchs, two Indians, Nāgarjuna and Vasubandhu, three Chinese, Donran, Doshaku and Zendo and two Japanese, Genshin and Hōnen.

Genshin who is often recognised as the first Japanese patriarch of the Amidist school, came nearer to preaching the same doctrine as Hōnen that the mere repetition of the Nembutsu without the practice of meditation is sufficient to cleanse from sin and to secure rebirth in heaven.

In 1133, Hōnen or Genku was born, the real founder of Japanese Amidism. His personal character influenced his teaching. "He was a peculiarly amiable and gentle nature, always anxious not to offend, to see things from other's point of view and to formulate his own so as to raise as few objections as possible."¹ He says that it is allowable to pray for worldly goods not only by practising the Nembutsu but by invoking the other Buddhas or gods, by reading or writing the sutras or by making images of the Buddhas. Hōnen's effort was to find some intelligible and easy form of religion which would bring light and comfort to souls which had sought them in vain in the literal and philosophy of the older systems. He once stated that the reason why he founded the Jodo sect was to show ordinary man how to be born into the Buddha's own country.

Hōnen wrote several books, the best known of which is the *Senchakusu*, consisting of sixteen chapters quoting many passages from the three Amidist sutras as well as the Chinese Patriarch Zendo, of whom he says that he was an incarnation of Amida. Hōnen is said to have read the whole Tripitaka several times, but he never quotes them or attaches the smallest importance to the fact that though they are the most ancient and authoritative accounts of Shaka's preaching but they contain no mention of Amida.

According to Hōnen nothing is required except repetition of the formula "Namu Amida Butsu or reverence to Amida Butsu" with faith. He is emphatic in declaring that meditation on Amida, which was considered a necessary part of the Nembutsu. Hōnen's explanation is that the object is to avoid having any desires except for birth in the Pure Land. According to Hōnen prayer is not merely a help to life, it should be the whole of life and the object of life. One should not have any desire except to be reborn in the Pure Land, and

consequently there will not be room in one's mind for passion or ambition.² Amida is full of passion for sinners, but he hates sin for he knows it is the cause of misery. The recitation of the Nembutsu with faith implies repentance for sin in the past and desire to avoid it in the future. Doubtless too, the repetition of the Nembutsu was regarded as a preventive of sinful desires. This is the view of Hōnen.

Hōnen's amiable and undogmatic temper led him to formulate his views in simple and untechnical languages and so far as possible to avoid contradicting other sects. But after his death his successors were inclined to be more precise and to define and develop doctrines which he had perhaps purposely left somewhat vague.

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1. Anesaki, Hōnen, *The Buddhist Saint*, p. 138
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MAÑJUŚRĪ-MŪLA-KALPA AND THE BUDDHIST SCROLL PAINTING

— *Suniti Kumar Pathak.*

The Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa is generally regarded as a Tantra text with an emphasis on rituals (kalpa). Kalpa suggests an order of service to propitiate a deity in course of practice of the Tantra. As Mañjuśrī was the speaker in the sphere of illumination (raśmijāla), all the beings among the divinities like Bodhisattvas, Pratyeka-Buddhas and also the other beings of six worlds were present in course of the auspicious deliberations.

Historically speaking, the text in its present form may not be an old recension. The book was translated in Chinese and Tibetan and the chapter divisions vary in translations from those in Sanskrit. It leaves a room to hold that there might have more than one versions of the text different in distributions of chapters.

Particularly, the last chapter of the Sanskrit text edited by T. Ganapati Sastri from Trivendram (since 1914) on Rājavyākaraṇa refers to some late rulers of the Indian history. In this regard the Imperial History of India by Altaker clearly mentions that some portions of the text are spurious.

Despite that, the Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa is an important work of the Kriyā-tantra class and the text is regarded as Buddhavacana according to the Tibetan tradition. The text deals with various subjects like aupāyika-karma (methodical service) to the deity of the practitioner. As the Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa prescribes, one should devote to a deity by painting the image as revealed in course of the Mantra practice. Under the concentration of one's mind the rays of the light rises in colour(s) with a form. A practitioner therefore attempts to preserve such experience in the mind through the painting in forms and colour(s) on a painted scroll (paṭa). The Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa thus mentions the measures how to draw a figure the deity on the scroll with proper expressions of its deity.

A practitioner should take the help of other members of the society; such as, a girl who knows how to spin the thread a weaver who weaves the scroll, a dealer of various materials to prepare colours and pigment. And, even a painter, in case the practitioner be not competent. It has therefore the social impact in the material aspect behind the painting of scrolls as laid down in the Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa.

In the composition of a scroll the environs around the deity are important. It has the symbol how does the psychic factors in the deep-retrovertic mind functions. A Tibetan Thangka is an appropriate specimen in which the total composition becomes explicit. In the history of Buddhist art Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa plays an important role to spread the Buddhist painting of deities through the ages. In Tibetan Thangka-painting the iconometric calculation is symbolic. The environs around the deities are equally impressive to focus the illuminary world to which the deities belong.

A NOTE ON THE ABHIDHAMMATTHASAMGAHA

— Prof. Binayendra Nath Chaudhury

Abhidhammatthasamgaha is a manual or compendium dealing with, as the title signifies, "Concise collection or summary (saṃgaha) of the meaning (attha) of the Theravada Buddhist philosophy (abhidhamma). It was composed by the philosopher Anuruddha in Pali while staying at Mūlasomavihāra of Ceylon (Sri Lanka). His date is not definitely known to us. Most probably he lived between the eighth century and the eleventh century A.D., because the wise monks of twelfth century of Burma and Ceylon wrote Tikās and commentaries on it. This text gained so much popularity and high esteem in Ceylon and Burma (Mayanmer) that the students of Abhidhamma use it as handbook from ancient time to present day. The Abhidhammattha-samgaha is regarded as "Nine Little Finger Manuals", i.e. a classified list of philosophical manuals nine in numbers in Burmese bibliography, viz., Abhidhammatthasamgaha, Paramathavinicchaya, Nāmarūpapariccheda, Mohavicchedani, Abhidhammāvatāra, Rūpārūpavibhāga, Saccasaṅkhepa, Nāmarūpasamāsa and Vimaticchedani.

The Abhidhammatthasamgaha, because of its exclusively condensed treatment of psycho-ethical and philosophical points, stimulated a large growth of commentarial works, namely, Porāna-Tikā by Nava Vimalabaddhi Thera, Abhidhammattha-vibhavani-Tika by Sumangala Thera of Ceylon, Samkhepa-vaṇṇanā by Saddhamma Jotipāla, of Burma, Anuruddha composed three other books, namely Paramatthavinicchyaya, Nāmarūpariccheda on Abhidhamma topics and probably the Anuruddhasataka, a poetical work. A few centuries earlier the commentator and manual writer Buddhaddatta Thera composed the Rūpārūpavibhāga and the Abhidhammāvatāra on similar topic, but Anuruddha's Abhidhammattha-samagaha is more detailed and systematic. It may be compared to the famous commentator Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, as both the works have treated the whole Abhidhamma material briefly but methodically.

The Abhidhammatthasamgaha is divided into nine chapters (vibhāga). In the first chapter, Cittasamgahavibhāga the citta (states of consciousness) have been classified according to four 'bhūmis' (planes of existence) which are fourfold, namely, (1) Kāmaloka (sensuous World) which again has four stages—Nirayaloka (hell), Petaloka (abode of spirits), Manussaloka (human world) and Kāmadevaloka (world of sensuous gods); (2) Rūpaloka (World of form) having sixteen stages; (3) Arūpaloka (world of formless) having four stages and above all (4) Lokottarabhūmi (supr mundane plane) having eight stages. States of

consciousness (citta) produced in any of the bhūmi or plane receives accordingly its name e.g. Kāmāvacara-citta, rūpāvacara-citta, arūpāvacara-citta, etc. In this chapter 12 immoral or unwholesome states of consciousness (akusala citta) of which 8 rooted in greed (lobha), 2 in hatred (dosa) and 2 in delusion (moha); 18 causeless consciousness (ahetuka citta); 24 good or beautiful consciousness (sobhana citta); 15 rūpāvacara types of consciousness; 12 types of arūpāvacara (formless sphere) and 8 types of Lokottara consciousness, totally 89 types are stated. These 89 types may be expanded to 121 types, by resolving each of the 8 kinds of supramundane consciousness into five. In the chapter two, Cetasikasamgahavibhāga classification of 52 kinds of mental concomitants or factors (cetasikas) of which 7 common to each and every state of consciousness (sabbacittasādhāraṇā), 6 kinds of contingent (which may or may not be involved in all types of consciousness) mental concomitants (pakiṇṇakā), 14 immoral (akusalā) concomitants and 25 mental concomitants linked to all beautiful or aesthetic state of consciousness (sobhana-sādhāraṇā) including 3 abstinences (virati) and 2 illimitables (appamañña) is dealt with. The third chapter Pakiṇṇakasamgahavibhāga treats of the mental concomitants particular to the various states of consciousness. "Thus, sense-impressions may be divided according to six senses, and according to the nature of impressions of pleasure, pain, joy, grief (domanassa) and indifference (upekkhā) which results in large variety and mental exclusions. This is followed by summaries regarding consciousness under aspect of functions (kicca), of sense-doors (dvāra), of sense-objects (ārammaṇa) and of sense-bases (vatthu)".

In the fourth chapter Vīthisamgaha-vibhāga and the fifth chapter Vīthimuttasamgaha-vibhāga the precess of mind and course of cognition (citta-vīthi), both in birth (paṭisandhi) and continuous flow (pavatti) according to different life-planes and persons are dealt with. Paṭisandhi-consciousness is the activity of Bhavanga (vital continuum in the absence of any process of mind), beginning of a new life. Its nature is determined by the Karmic result of previous birth. The course of cognition functions in connecting one life with other.

In the chapter six Rūpasamgaha-vibhāga, rūpa (basic matter on material form) and the twenty-eight material qualities are analysed. In the chapter seven, Samuccaya-samgaha-vibhāga, immorals like sense-desires (kāma), love for living (bhava), false view (diṭṭhi), etc., mixed categories like greed, hatred, delusion and their opposites, constituents of Path like right speech, right action, right livelihood, etc., 22 guiding faculties (indriya), 9 forces (bala) and all that pertains to enlightenment (bodhi) are discussed. The chapter eight, Paccayasamgaha vibhāga treats of two kinds of causal relations (paccaya);

first of the arising and ceasing of relations according to the law of dependent origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda-naya) consisting of twelve link: "Conditioned by ignorance (avijjā paccayā) are the habitual tendencies (saṃkhāra), conditioned by habitual tendencies is consciousness (viññāṇa), conditioned by consciousness is psycho-physicality (māmarūpa); conditioned by psycho-physicality are the six sense-spheres (saḷāyatana); conditioned by six sense spheres is contact (phassa); conditioned by contact is feeling (vedanā); conditioned by feeling is craving (taṇhā), conditioned by craving is grasping (upādāna); conditioned by grasping is becoming (bhava); conditioned by becoming is birth (jāti), conditioned by birth, old age (jāra), dying (maraṇa), grief (soka), sorrow and lamentation (parideva), suffering (dukkha), dejection and despair (domanassupāyāsā) come into being and secondly of the system of 24 correlations, namely, hetupaccaya (root condition); ārammaṇa (object), adhipati (predominance), anantara (proximity), samanantara (contiguity), saha-jāta (co-existence), aññamañña (mutuality), nissaya (support), upanissaya (decisive support), Purejāta (Pre-existence), Pacchājāta (Post-existence), āsevana (frequency), āhāra (nutriment), kamma (action), vipāka (result), indriya (faculty), jhāna (meditation), magga (path), sampayutta (association), vippayutta (dissociation), atthi (presence), natthi (absence), vigata (disappearance) and avigatapaccaya (appearance) as causal relations which comprise the subject-matter of the Paṭṭhāna (paṭṭhana naya). The concluding chapter nine Kammaṭṭhāna-samgahavibhāga deals with mind culture or object for the practice and super-normal intellection (abhiñña) which had to pacification (samatha) of mind and real insight (vipassanā) and ultimately to attainment of emancipation (vimokkha) and realisation of Nibbāna.

The Abhidhammatthasamgaha has been published in the Journal of the Pali Text Society, London, 1883 and translated with notes by Shwe Zan Aung under the title "Compendium of Philosophy".

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